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ABSTRACT

A workbook, written for use in local churches and synagogues, suggests projects and programs for concerned individuals who wish to contribute to an effort to end war. An introduction presents the rationale of the workbook, the creation of a network to end war, and ways in which groups and individuals can become involved in this endeavor. A chapter on resources describes materials for projects based around literature tables, information centers, posters, pictures, books, newsletters, films, simulation games, speakers, and study groups. Programs on the draft, non-violence, cold and nuclear war, militarism, crisis areas, development and transnational actions are outlined. Techniques are provided which influence national policy, such as registering citizen opinion, visiting and writing congressmen, writing to the President, writing letters to the editor, and identifying and working in the community with opinion leaders. A final chapter contains an annotated list of films and literature arranged by topic. A related document is ED 075 286. (Author/KSM)

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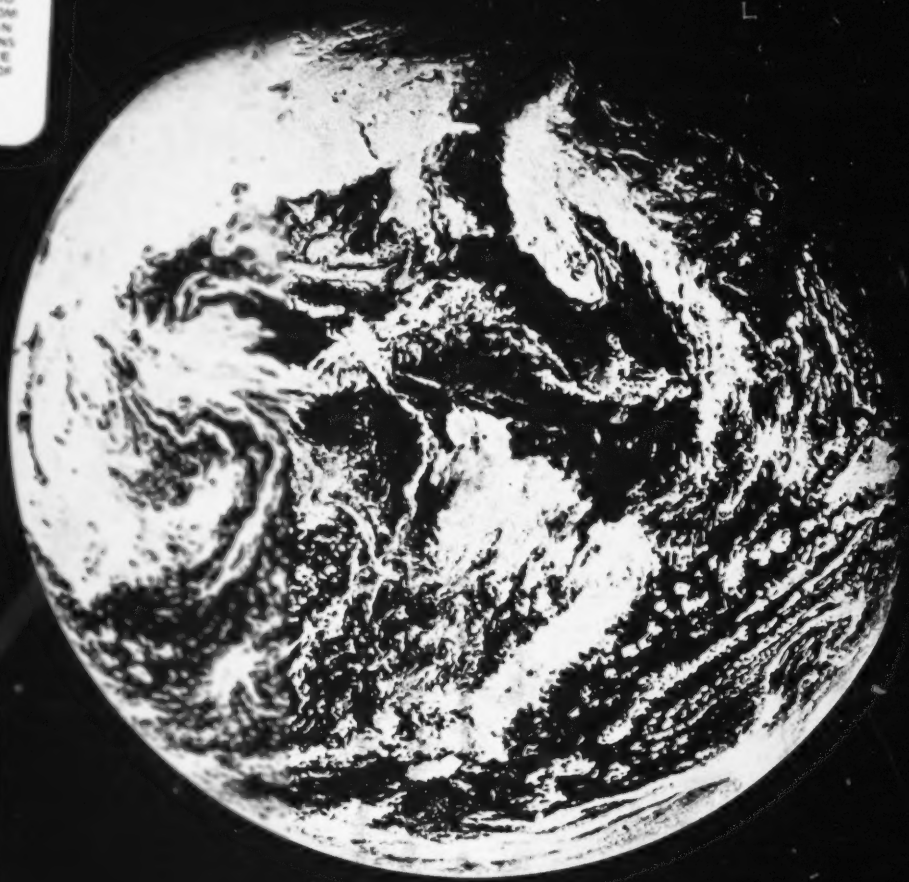

workbook

to end war

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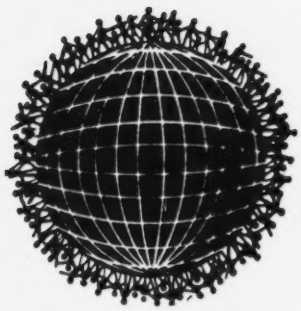
"To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness, brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

Archibald MacLeish

workbook to end war



designed especially for work in local churches and synagogues and other community groups by

network to end war

NETWORK links people who take seriously the need to work for an end to war. It is a project of the AFSC program with churches and synagogues of the Middle Atlantic Region.

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the workbook

The projects and programs suggested in this workbook are especially written for use in local churches and synagogues. Examples of resources or organizations in Baltimore or the vicinity should suggest similar resources in other regions.

These projects and programs were constructed to be specific enough and small enough to lie within the capacity of a cluster of concerned individuals in a local congregation. No one of them could be decisive in itself; the multiplied effect of many of them could be highly significant in the community and to the individuals involved.

Peace will not suddenly break out. It will not one day erupt. Just as wars grow out of accumulated decisions and acts, both large and small, so peace will have to grow out of the work of many, year after year, in acts both large and small which build the basis for end to war itself.

Depending on each reader's needs, we hope the workbook can be used both by those new to peace activity and those veterans looking for a new idea. For both, we hope it expands your vision of the possible.

It need not be studied or read through. Browse until you find something that fits your situation, your needs. *Adapt not adopt*. Feel free to revise any of the materials or ideas contained herein. That's what a resource book is all about.

Introduction

"People want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

Dwight D. Eisenhower
August 31, 1959

Introduction

Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind.

John F. Kennedy

Can War be Ended?

We believe it can be. Consider...

1. *Something is wrong in a world in which war is accepted as a right and reasonable instrument of national policy.* A world in which nations train men for mass violence is a world that should be changed.

2. *Conflict among men is in the nature of things; organized mass violence is not.* We will not rid the world of hatred or of individual and small group violence, but we can end war. It is an institution as slavery was an institution.

3. *Ending war is not contingent on achieving a world of perfect justice and harmony, nor does it require a fundamental alteration of human souls or psyches.* Ending war does not require resolving all the tensions that lead to conflict.

4. *Ending war will require changed understandings and policies in America as well as in other nations now committed to the use or threat of war to achieve their goals.* We must seek changes in those nations and in this. There is no single villain.

5. *There are important initiatives our government could take* which are more likely to lead the world to a stable peace than our present, dominantly military policy, or the current most visible alternative -- attempted withdrawal from world affairs.

6. *Responsibility for work to end war rests with individual citizens as well as with political leaders.* Laymen as well as experts have a critical role to play in making our country a leader in work to end war.

7. *Whatever the odds, we are required to try.* There is no alternative.

In the 1960's we made the landing of a man on the moon by 1970 a national goal. Vast resources were devoted to the effort. Portions of our industry were reshaped to serve that end. The nation's best minds were applied to the goal. And we succeeded.

Suppose that an end to war became the national goal of the 1970's...

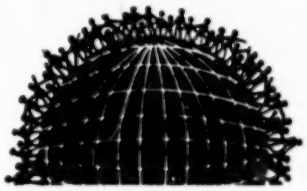
The Network to End War

Network links work now underway or planned with the religious communities of Maryland, Delaware, and Upper New York State. It is coordinated through the American Friends Service Committee, Middle Atlantic Region.

In operation since the summer of 1970, its goal is to encourage and assist the religious community -- its leadership, seminaries, and laypeople -- to participate creatively and responsibly in an effort to find solutions to international conflict that don't involve war. It attempts to create those conditions which would enable local congregations, denominations, and inter-religious agencies to undertake a broad, long-range, ecumenical effort.

Why focus on churches and synagogues?

It is in mainstream organizations -- churches, synagogues, service clubs, neighborhood groups -- that much of public opinion is formed or influenced, whether that process is conscious or not. In most of these groups, war/peace issues are all but ignored; therefore, much foreign policy is formed in a public opinion vacuum. Introducing foreign policy issues into the current of organizational life is a needed first step toward creative changes in those policies. In addition, those who work in churches and synagogues can build on a tradition that has much to say about issues of war and peace. Thus it is important that people who want to work for meaningful peace work first within the groups in which they are already involved.



A Network of People

The center of the Network is a growing number of people who have accepted responsibility to work *where they are* -- in local churches and synagogues, in seminaries and inter-church agencies, in the wider community -- for an end to war. Through common experiences in periodic workshops, training events, and issue briefings, Network people help each other clarify needs and responsibilities and are able to share resources and skills for programming and action. Through such sharing, individual efforts are strengthened and can begin to "add up."

Network, a communicator/newsletter/magazine for the project, reports each month on work underway in local organizations. It contains ideas for specific programs that might be tried or that have been done, describing what really happened -- both successes and failures --and listing resources available. Information on what is happening in your congregation is always welcome, since emphasis is on grass-roots programming and action.

Introduction

Program

Network's emphasis is on *balanced programs designed and carried out by congregation members* which reach and engage a broad range of people in the congregation and in the community. The starting point for much of the program and action to date has been a four-to-six-week "orientation" to the *war/peace* field which prepares an interested group within the congregation to take responsibility to work there to end war. From these experiences have grown broader programs such as a Sunday worship service planned and led by the group, efforts aimed at influencing important pending legislation, and issue-based programs on, for example, the draft and Vietnam. These have been developed for sub-groups of the congregation (such as the youth fellowship or the women's group), for the full congregation, and for the community at large. A *"Starter's Kit"* for initiating peace programming in a local congregation is available for 50¢ from the Baltimore AFSC office. It contains a detailed curriculum, sample hand-out materials, suggested background reading for the leaders, and a summary of our working experience with this approach.

The Network Approach:

Is internationalist, not isolationist. The question is not how do we get out of war, but how do we end war?

Sees the problem as complex but not impossible. We try to avoid the tendency to oversimplify or to exaggerate the problem and paths to its solution.

Recognizes that everyone wants peace, from the Pentagon to the Peace Movement, but many of the proposed solutions *on both sides* are themselves part of the problem of ending war.

Seeks to permeate and involve, not polarize and alienate. We seek a common approach to a common problem, not one that sets "our truth" versus "their falsehood." Often when people object to church or synagogue involvement in a controversial issue, they are really objecting to the ways in which the institution is involved, rather than to involvement itself.

Tries to involve both the motivated and the unmotivated, those who agree and those who disagree. Where agreement on an issue exists within a congregation, make it count by acting upon it; where there is disagreement, seek to build agreement, or at least clarify the grounds of disagreement, by discussion of the options and balanced educational programs.

Builds the base for continuing action/education programs that go beyond the usual crisis-centered sporadic efforts, thereby increasing the chances that response can be made to future crisis issues without polarization.

Is Your Church Engaged in Work to End War?

The Engaged Church

In the unengaged church, the congregation is never disturbed by discussion of controversial areas of life where there might be differences of opinion. Never is there an announcement in the bulletin offering draft age members help and guidance in making decisions they face with the draft. An occasional resolution, hurriedly passed in the heat of a crisis, and a sermon once or twice a year satisfies the concerned few. The appearance of the building confirms our suspicion that, in this church, little responsibility is felt towards facing the difficult issues of war and conscience. There are no pamphlets dealing with these subjects in the literature racks, no announcements of adult education programs focussing on the root ethical and religious choices involved, no notices encouraging participation in community events such as Human Rights Day, U.N. Day, UNICEF, or a March for Development, no posters on the wall of the sanctuary or school suggesting peace as a legitimate religious goal, nothing in the church publications. The climate is set -- for inactivity and indifference.

Does this describe your church? Can it change? How?

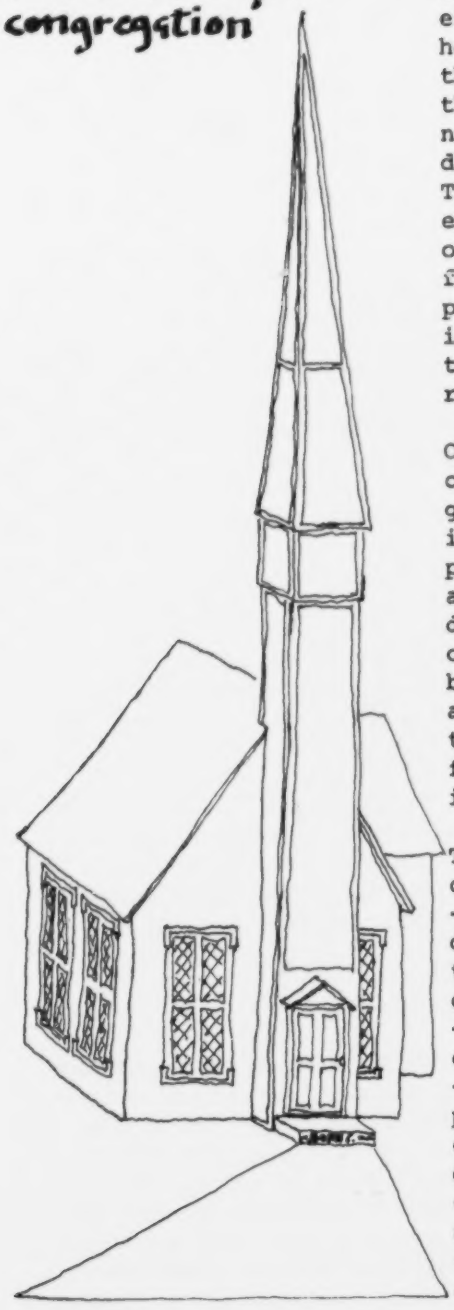
We know a church that is different. It's an average church by most standards, but it has a clergyman and a handful of active people who have taken the time and effort to find out what the members of their church think, what they are worried about, what they agree and disagree on. They channeled sufficient agreement into action, and where there was not sufficient agreement they conducted educational programs designed to create more complete awarenesses of what the issues involved. This church established a small advisory committee of trained clergy and laypeople to aid young people in considering problems of conscience and war, especially in context of the church's teaching and experience. The school teachers met to examine what they were teaching about war and peace and how to deal with those issues creatively. The climate of the church encourages its members to work for an end to war. Projects have been started with the women's group and the school. A display was created which included samples of over fifty magazines and periodicals with a wide diversity of views, which encouraged the members to broaden their reading experience. A small group of activist members, with the support of the church council, formed a support group for Amnesty International and are now working to obtain amnesty for three prisoners of conscience in different countries, of differing political views. They maintain a close relationship to their church and feel they are emphasizing the universality of Christ and have given a transnational dimension to the congregation's life.

Where does this church exist?

Unfortunately, this church is only beginning to become a reality. It can be your church if the effort is made. All of the teaching/action suggestions made in the Workbook can take place in the average congregation. A beginning can be made to choose to do one or two in the next few months as a prelude to more concentrated effort.

Introduction

What the Network Program might look like in your congregation



Too often a church member's concept of a "peace" program in the church consists of a debate on controversial crisis issues. And perhaps the only result he can remember from that event was a greater rift within the church, a higher emotional pitch, and perhaps a greater level of frustration, with little in the way of positive effects to show for the trouble. He is hesitant to try again, for the good reason that he fears further polarization within the group, or he feels that there is simply nothing significant a church member can do. These are not insurmountable problems. There are many concerned people who become excited about working in their congregation on war/peace issues, once they begin to feel confident of their own grasp of the problem and their ability to deal with it in a meaningful way. The *Network* orientation program is designed to help them reach that point.

Our approach formulates the question: How can war be ended?", not simply, "How do we get out of the present war?". Thus it is internationalist in scope and looks to the problem of working towards what is, after all, a shared long term goal, for hawk and dove alike. We try to build from points of common interest and agreement to become better able later to deal with issues that are likely to stir greater controversy. In this manner we hope to lay the groundwork for a continuing educational process within the congregation.

The *Network to End War* program in local congregations seeks to:
- develop a core group of members who understand the importance of their congregation's dealing with war/peace issues as a continuing process;
- initiate non-polarizing discussion in the church;
- change the climate in such a way that peace (and other "controversial" issues) can be seen as a legitimate subject for discussion and action;
- develop programming that touches all sub-groups of the church; and
- develop the skills and commitment that are essential to effective leadership.

Getting Started: A Process of Involvement

Based on our experience in the Network Project, we suggest the following 6-session orientation as a way of getting underway. Of course, this is only an outline that must be adapted to the particular situation in your congregation.

A. Inform and seek to obtain the support of the minister. If he decides to "sign on," ask him to select one or two members of the congregation who agree to be responsible for overseeing the Peace Priority process. These members provide the dynamic of the following process although resource people will provide most of the content for each of the sessions.

B. Recruit a Peace Priority Task Force--preferably after seeking a mandate for such a group from the governing body of the church. This Task Force would be composed of 8 to 15 members from each of the major subgroups of the church (e.g., Sunday School, the women's group, high school group, worship life, etc.). As explained below, it would meet one night a week for six weeks and then call an "invitational meeting." In addition to studying war/peace issues, it would have the task of surveying the attitudes of the entire congregation on these issues.

C. Convene the Peace Priority Task Force for the following orientation sessions:

1. Introduction: The Problem of War

   A discussion of the goals and expectations of the group for the series and some thinking about the causes, functions and possble alternatives to war. What is the problem of war and why do we need to do something about it? To provide a common point of reference, we suggest using the filmstrip/record "The Age of Megaton" to initiate the discussion. Another way is to ask each person to fill out the Congregational Survey Questionnaire (reprinted in this section) and review and evaluate the answers of the members of the group. Finally, the group must decide how the Congregational Survey will be distributed and collected from other members of the congregation.

2. Contexts: A New Approach to War/Peace Issues

   Based on Chapter XIII of *To End War*, by Pickus and Woito (Harper and Row, $1.50) this session looks at the common ways Americans approach matters of war and peace. The idea of "contexts", or mind-sets or frameworks is introduced. A role-play can be effective in which each member (or cluster of members) represents one "context" and reacts to current newspaper headlines as they think a person with that perspective would react. Are these attitudes present in the group? In the congregation? In the community? By accepting the element of truth in each common American context, a "Developed Peace Position" is introduced.

Introduction

3. What Will It Take to End War?

   Based on Chapter XIV of *To End War*, discussion is focussed positively on the need to and possibility of ending war (like slavery, war as a social institution is not inevitable, natural, or right). What are the conditions necessary for a peaceful world? The Developed Peace Position is presented and its central dynamic, the Initiatives Policy, is illustrated in the "Kennedy Experiment" (a five page review of the latter is available from the Network Project, AFSC, 319 E. 25th St., Baltimore, Md. 21218 for 10¢ a copy.).

4. The Church/Synagogue and War

   An overview of Judeo-Christian thought and teaching on war and peace. Discussion centering on the development of the "just war" idea, the role of individual conscience and the pacifist idea. Then a look at traditional and current statements of your denomination's stand on the issues (perhaps in the form of brief reports by members of the group who've reviewed the material carefully before the meeting). Are the statements of your church adequate to the problem of ending war? What more is needed? How do these relate to your local congregation?

5. The "Engaged Church/Synagogue"

   A look at what a local church or synagogue that took its work for peace seriously would be doing. (We've created a set of slides in the Network Project which illustrates many of the possibilities). A major portion of this session is spent tabulating the results of the Congregational Survey Questionnaire.

6. Where Do We Go From Here?

   What do the questionnaire results indicate? Where, how and to whom should they be reported? What areas of agreement and disagreement do they reveal? Where shall we begin work? What recommendations regarding future war/peace program can be made to the governing board of the congregation?

Congregational Survey Questionnaire

This questionnaire is meant to *record your opinions* on certain critical issues affecting the church and the world (there are not "right" or "wrong" answers). If your response involves further elaboration, please feel free to use the margins or the last page.

A. List the national or international issues which have been of highest concern to you during the past year.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

B. On the issues which do concern you, how often have you taken some kind of action within the past year (signed a petition, written to a Congressman or editor, attended a meeting, participated in a program or demonstration, etc.)?

frequently ____ occasionally ____ a little ____ not at all ____

Please read the statements below and place a check mark in the column which most closely describes your response. (S.A.: Strongly Agree, A.: Agree, U.: Undecided, D.: Disagree, S.D.: Strongly Disagree)

	SA	A.	U.	D.	SD.
1. *The United Nations should be strengthened as a means of improving world order.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. I am much more likely to be alienated by a protest demonstration than to be won over.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. *My church should help the congregation understand the relation of Christian teachings to current political issues no matter how controversial those issues might be.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. It is too much to expect, as the U.N. Development Program does, that industrialized nations should contribute 1% of their GNP toward the economic development of the world's poorest countries.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. *Human nature being what it is, there will always be conflict.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. *My religious experiences and beliefs have a great effect on my political views.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. The greatest threat to peace in the world today comes from the communist attempt to dominate the world.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. *I would be upset if the clergy in my church were active in political or social action groups.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. The draft should be repealed.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. *Churches should invest their money wherever they can get the best profit, even if that means investing heavily in all kinds of defense industries.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. A person is not justified in breaking the law, even if the demands of the law conflict with his or her beliefs.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. *My church is not fulfilling all the responsibility it has in helping members take morally responsible stands on vital political and social issues.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Introduction

14. Any unilateral moves toward disarmament are extremely foolish in today's world; we shouldn't take on any such risk. ☐☐☐☐☐
15. *Congress should impose limits on the use of government secrecy, because secrecy too often only keeps important information from the public rather than from any possible enemy.* ☐☐☐☐☐
16. There is too much division within my congregation for us to engage in activities on political issues. ☐☐☐☐☐
17. *Civilian chaplains could fulfill the Christian ministry to members of the armed services better than the present system of uniformed military chaplains.* ☐☐☐☐☐

Please check the answers below which best express your response.

C. For the moment, assume that you are a draft age male who has no wife or family or professional responsibilities. If you were faced with the military draft in the near future, what would you do?

___a. leave the country
___b. enlist in the branch of military service of your choice
___c. wait until you are drafted and then enter the military
___d. seek a deferment of some kind
___e. file for conscientious objector status and do civilian alternative service (if refused, would you refuse induction and face a jail sentence? Yes___ No___)
___f. refuse to cooperate with the selective service system and go to jail if necessary.
___g. go underground and fight the system
___h. other (please specify)_____

D. Which of the responses in C. seems to you to be the highest expression of the religious commitment of your church?

E. I believe our defense budget (about $80 billion)
___a. is too low ___b. is about right ___c. is too high

F. How much effect do you think you and people like you have on shaping American Foreign Policy?

___a. Almost none: even voting in elections isn't significant
___b. Very little: support the candidates with the least offensive ideas
___c. Some: government officials are influenced by citizen opinion
___d. Quite a bit: influencing officials and members of my community
___e. Other: _____

G. If you have time, we would appreciate a brief response to the following: use back of this sheet). Why do you think there are wars, and what is the greatest obstacle to peace?

Sex: female___
male____

Age group: under 25____
25-45____
45-65____
over 65_____

Other Approaches to Work in Local Congregations

There is a new seriousness to work at the "grass-roots" level and that's reflected in the growing numbers of projects underway around the country with a "local church" emphasis. For descriptions of other approaches, we suggest you contact the churches/organizations/projects listed below:

1. *Eight Descriptive Studies: How Churches and Synagogues Act on the Issue of Peace,* by Elizabeth Stowe. Available from Clergy and Laymen Concerned, 637 West 125th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10027. 50¢ per copy. Good overview of eight diverse ways of initiating work. Case study approach.

2. *A Plan for Peace,* a detailed description of the experience of the St. Luke Presbyterian Church, Wayzata, Minn., and its transformation from a conventional suburban church to a church in which peace is first priority. Describes their "bonds for peace" program and formation of four Peace Task Forces. Cost: 25¢.

3. *The Wilmette Church Plan,* the result of three strenuous planning sessions attended by members of Wilmette Congregational Church (Wilmette, Ill.). Calling themselves the Saturday Morning War/Peace Discussion Group, they clarified their understanding of their faith's mandate to work for peace and proposed a "Ministry for Peace" that would reach all activities of the church (worship, educational, missions, etc.). Information available from World Without War Council, Midwest, 7245 S. Merrill Chicago, Ill. 60649.

4. *Church Program Idea Packet* prepared by Minnesota CALC, 122 W. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. 55404 contains much good information for churches taking their "first steps." Focus is on involving the "whole church." Ask them about their "Alternatives to Violence" Series.

5. *Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary: Discussion Guide for Peace, War, and Your Conscience,* prepared by Ministry on War and Conscience LPTS. 1044 Alta Vista Road, Louisville, Kentucky 40205.

6. *World Without War Council - Northern California,* 1730 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif. 94709, has done extensive work with the Roman Catholic Diocese of Oakland and the Episcopal Diocese of California over the past two years. Much material related to the task of "Working for a World Without War in our Parish" has been developed. Good materials on initiating a "Conscience, War and the Draft" program at the local level.

7. *Blessed Are the Poor: A Congregational Guide to the Sermon on the Mount,* published by the Ecumenical Peace Institute, a coalition of religious peace groups in the San Francisco area as a Lenten Guide in 1972. Three sections focus on study, worship, and action, with emphasis on the first. Single copies are 25¢ and can be ordered from Free Church Publications, P.O. Box 9177, Berkeley, Calif. 94709.

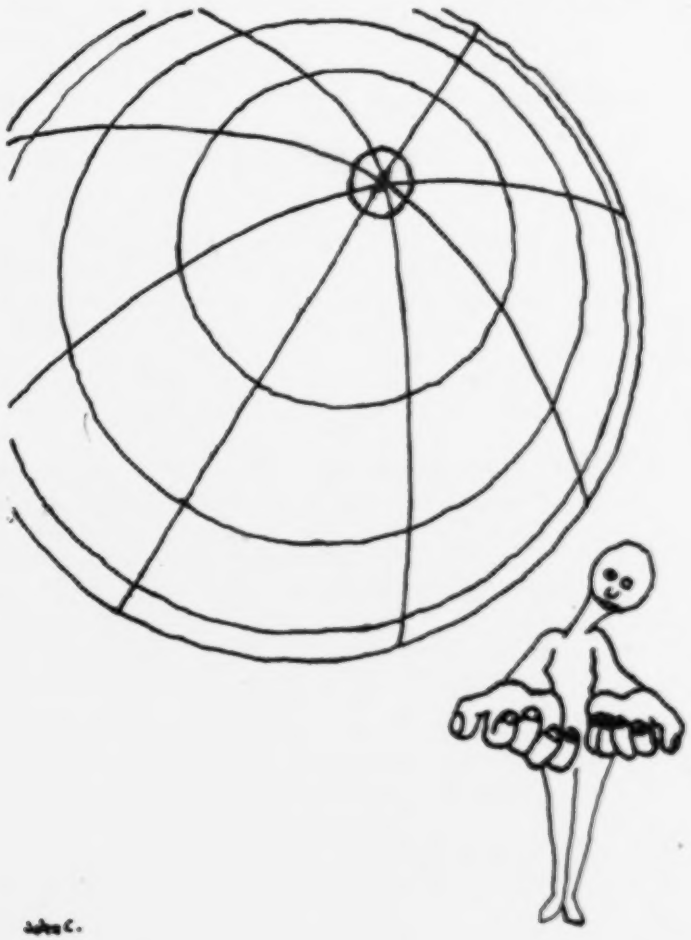
Introduction

We can all continue to say we are only churchmen, or only educators, or only government people--that our role is limited, and that we cannot be expected to solve the problems of the world. But the job of world-problem-solvers has not yet been allocated. Some of us had better choose to define ourselves as world-problem-solvers if world problems are going to be solved.

Robert Theobald

But What Can I do?: A Self Survey

Many people say, "What can I do?" as though it were an answer, one way of asserting that nothing *can* be done. Those putting the question as a question will find that a meaningful answer requires a careful self assessment. The World Without War Council used the questionnaire below to aid individuals seeking an appropriate and effective way to help on work to end war.



reprint from:
To End War
by Robert Pickus
and Robert Woito,
1970.
WWWC

I. *Who Am I?*
- Educational and vocational background
- Family and other primary responsibilities
- Personality: Do I prefer to take key responsibility or to help those who do?
  To do the overall planning or follow through on the details?
  To do the background work or frontline persuasion?
- In the Community?
  Organizations I belong to: business, labor, professional, public affairs, religious, education, peace... other.

Circles I move in: conservative, liberal, radical, middle-of-the-road, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, academic, youth, weight-lifter, psychiatric,....other.

II. *What Part of the War/Peace Problem Interests Me Most?*
- U.N. and growth toward world law
- Challenge of world economic and social development
- Building a sense of world community
- Morality, conscience and war
- Current crisis problems: e.g., Vietnam, the Middle East
- Weapons issues, e.g., Nuclear proliferation, MIRV
- Understanding the Communist world
- Forcing change and defending values without violence
- Other
- I need more information before deciding

III. *What Do I Now Believe?*
- How do I describe my peace position?
  Federalist? pacifist? strengthen the U.N. while maintaining a strong military deterrent? defend the American national interest? just peace concerned? plain confused?
- What motivates me?
  Why do I now (or why do I intend to) give time or money to work for a world without war?

IV. *What Part of the War/Peace Field Do I Know?*
- Rate yourself from 1 (what a good undergraduate course teaches) to 5 (I read the local paper) on each of the twelve chapters into which Part I of *To End War* divides the war/peace field.
- How sophisticated am I?
  Have I thought past the obvious need for peace to the hard realities of power and politics which if not faced can result in work in the name of peace doing more harm than good?

V. *What Special Skills or Talents Do I Have?*
- Speaking, organizing, writing, money raising, office skills, leading discussion, research, art, graphics, beauty?

VI. *How Much Time Will I Give?*
- A few hours a month, one or two days a week, full time?

VII. *Will I Take Time for Training?*

VIII. *What Reward/Results Must I Have for Continued Work?*
- Money, sense of accomplishment, visible change, appreciation, a good group to work with?

IX. *Where Should I Work?*
- From which base in the community do I want to work?
  a. Major voluntary organizations: church, professional organization, political party, public affairs group, veterans' organization, labor group, business association, service club?

b. Major institution: school, library, social welfare agency, university, private business?

c. Peace cause organization which is next-step foreign policy oriented, U.N. supportive, pacifist, world federalist, focussed on world affairs education, *ad hoc* protest, special issue, research?

d. Neighborhood, PTA, community center, church or temple, discussion with friends, local businesses?

- What audience do I want to reach?
  National decision makers, local political leaders, children, Catholics, mass media, peace groups, college students, minorities, businessmen, labor, opinion leaders, other.

- With what tools do I want to work?
  Campaigns (e.g., petitions, letter writing), literature, films and tapes, organizational programming consultation, art and display, public events (e.g. speakers, benefits, fairs), demonstrations, and symbolic acts, political organization, personal contact, research and development of new ideas, office work, etc.

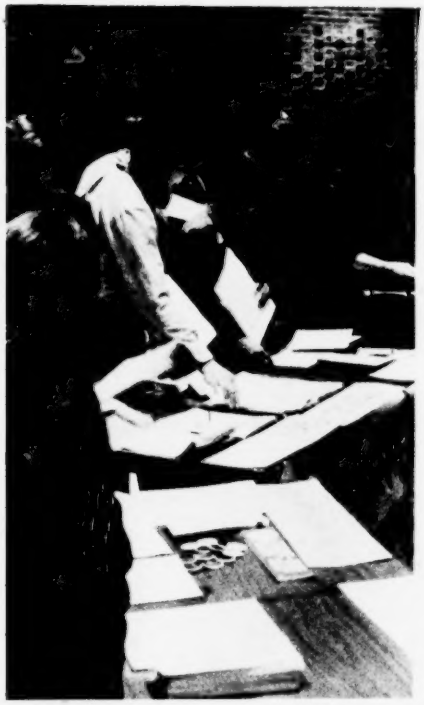
X. *What Will I Actually Do?*

The need for serious and specific community work is infinite. The problem is selecting work that is appropriate for you. Write for *Specific Tasks You Can Do In Your Community* (available from Council offices) for a wide range of suggestions of work which needs to be done in every community and in many different organizational settings.

If you still need help, don't hesitate to ask for it from leaders in organizations you've joined. The simple act of asking for help on expressing your concern for peace is often in itself a significant act for peace.

Resources

Resources



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Resources

Literature Tables and Information Centers

Nature of Project:

Literature tables often make good displays, particularly when used in conjunction with some other kind of program, like a film or a speaker. No matter how good a program is, it can't cover all the ground that the topic includes. A literature table with a variety of works touching on the same area can thus provide an excellent "next step" for those in the audience who want to become better informed -- for people are much more likely to follow-up an interest if the books are immediately available. A literature table is most effective when someone mans the table who has a working knowledge of most of the books and pamphlets there. The literature table then becomes an "information center". The "expert" can thus help guide people to the one or two works that best match up with their interest and levels of knowledge and sophistication.

Or if your program is, say, a day-long meeting that covers four specific topics, you might ask four different people to check into literature available on those topics, gather it, then set up and man four *information centers* for browsing during lunch hour and break periods.

If the program is in your church or synagogue, the church library might make your display of library books, with provisions for interested people to sign them out at the meeting. Or you might ask a local bookstore either to set up the table or to let you have books on consignment. AFSC has literature and could set up a literature table.

Project Payoffs:

1. A better-informed public.

2. A way for maintaining interest sparked by a program.

The Reading Man's Filter

Nature of Project:

A group at St. John's Methodist/Presbyterian Church in Columbia made a very effective display based on the "Reading Man's Filter" that appears in *To End War* (a guide to periodicals that deal with war/peace issues, designed to help people consciously choose a balanced range of reading). They gathered sample copies of most of the periodicals listed, pasted brief descriptions on the front of them, and had them available for browsing on a table outside the sanctuary after a worship service. They also mimeographed copies of the entire "Filter" which they distributed to the many people who came up to look through the magazines.

Project Payoffs:

People who are better-informed and more acquainted with a range of opinion on critical issues.

Posters, Pictures and Wall Hangings

Purpose of Project:

1. To *promote* a certain event or piece of literature.

2. To *set the climate*. Setting the climate means using the wall space and bulletin boards and display cases of your church or synagogue to remind people that an end to war is an active concern of the institution, to make them feel comfortable in addressing that concern there, and further, to stimulate thought about issues of war and peace.

Nature of Project:

Posters: Posters are often available through national or denominational bodies, especially posters which highlight relief work the denomination is carrying out in crisis areas (e.g. Biafra, Bengal, Vietnam). Posters on a variety of topics are often available from the United Nations. For example, their series on "Going to School Around the World" might be a good climate-setter for the Sunday School Wing of your church. Or you might want to pick your own specific posters from the great variety of posters available. One source for thought-provoking posters at a very reasonable cost is Argus Communications, 3505 N. Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60657. Or design your own thought-provokers.

The "Unitarian Church Method" -- perhaps you've noticed that many Unitarian churches display posters on various subjects in a display case out in front of the building. They change periodically, and in most places they have a rather regular following -- people who even drive a few blocks out of their way each week to see the new one. If you have or get a good set of stimulating posters, try the "Unitarian Church Method" at a prominent place inside or outside your building, and see what kind of response you get. You'll at least set a climate that creates some interest and thinking. If you're alert as to who seems to come around the posters regularly, you may find it easy to move to the NEXT STEP of starting a discussion group based on the *content* of the posters. Or you may find people interested in the *process* of communicating the importance of work to end war to opinion leaders within the congregation, or to the whole church; or perhaps they might work on a project for spot announcements ("television posters") in the mass media.

Do It Yourself. One excellent source of posters (almost for free) is the creative talents of the congregation's members themselves. There are various ways to encourage such contributions (which in turn also stimulates some thought about war/peace issues, values, etc.). If the "Unitarian Method" above catches on, it should be easy to encourage people to make their own posters and displays with a panel of impartial judges to decide which one goes up each week. Another way is to ask the Sunday School children to offer their own. Or you might turn over certain wall (and floor and ceiling) space for a month to the youth group to convey ideas about war and peace. Next month the women's group perhaps could have their turn, and so on.

Resources

Books

Nature of Project:

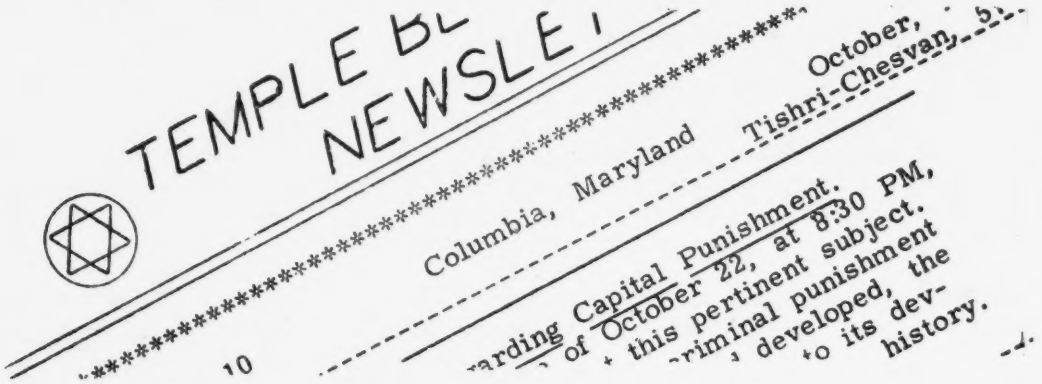
1. *For your own reading* - To get clear on ideas about war and peace, about specific proposals or current issues, reading is bound to be important. *To End War*, by Pickus and Woito, is the best guide we've seen to the mass of books in this field. AFSC also has a number of important books for sale -- see the MAR literature list beginning on page 133.

2. *For your church or synagogue library* - As part of "climate setting" and "improving information sources" does your church library have an adequate section on subjects of war and peace? It may be a worthy group or individual project to investigate the collection, then suggest books that should be added. If necessary help raise the funds to buy them, and then, through displays and notes in the newsletter, encourage people to read them. *To End War* can aid in deciding which books to obtain -- there is an excellent section on "Moral, Religious, Philosophical, and Ethical Thought on War."

Newsletters

Nature of Project:

Setting the climate through a newsletter can also be an important step. One effective way might be through the use of regularly-appearing thought-provoking quotes (perhaps directly from the current poster). But it is also important to use the newsletter for longer articles on your religious tradition as it relates to war and peace, on a particular current issue, or on an event in the church community. Sometimes you might want to reprint a brief article from a magazine (*Christianity and Crisis*, *Commonweal*, *Commentary*, and *Worldview* are good sources) or reliable data on current legislation (the *FCNL Newsletter* is one source for this). But perhaps more important would be to print articles, letters, and opinions by members of the congregation. It might be possible to establish a "War/Peace Page" for a dialogue among members. If so, it would be important to encourage a wide range of opinions. That way it is more likely to become established as a place for sharing ideas with the entire congregation as all try to clarify their positions on complex issues.



"The world of films is a powerful, almost magical one. When the force of this medium is used in treating social issues, the viewer can be involved in an experience of great impact. Whatever the form--satire, comedy, or documentary--if the film-maker knows his art his point will be difficult to ignore."

Films

Nature of Project:

Films can be excellent motivating tools to stimulate thought and action that can help end war. Sometimes you will come across a particularly moving film with a message that you want others to hear. The task then is to build the best program setting for it. Other times you will have a particular program slot to fill, or more likely, a particular topic or perspective you want to deal with. The problem in this case is finding the appropriate film. For both situations, we strongly recommend *The War/Peace Film Guide* by Lucy Dougall, available for 75¢ from AFSC-MAR or from the World Without War Council. It simplifies the task of searching for appropriate films, listing over 100 of the best films, categorized by topic. It provides all the information necessary to obtain the films, as well as suggestions pertaining to all facets of putting on a successful film program or series. As the jacket states, it is quite useful "as a tool for developing a specific film program or as an introduction to the use of film for educators or program chairmen."

Remember that most films need to be scheduled well in advance. When ordering, you should usually allow at least a month, and should probably include an alternate date if possible.

For nearly every film it will be important to have some kind of follow-up discussion session, because a particular film can have a wide variety of ultimate effects. For example, a film like HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI, AUGUST 1945, which conveys some of the horror of nuclear war, might only cause people to retreat from that horror and steadfastly avoid any more thoughts or actions that have to do with the war issue. On the other hand, the film can be an excellent motivator for work to end war when followed with a good discussion. Such a discussion helps people think through the range of emotions that the film evokes, and suggests concrete, accessible work that they could undertake in their own church or community group.

The following is excerpted from *The War/Peace Film Guide:*

Suggestions for Planning Film Programs

PREVIEW the film first to make sure it is appropriate for your audience and to anticipate any technical difficulties. Since most distributors will make films available for previewing either free or at reduced rates, it might be a good idea to preview two or three films and select the one that best suits your purpose. Check public libraries and university film libraries in your area as convenient sources.

PREPARE a discussion guide which will include the primary ideas and questions raised by the film. A discussion leader is essential to focus the

discussion and to raise related issues. Where the film's content suggests a need for action in the community, the discussion leader should be prepared to discuss activities which will build on the program.

PROVIDE background literature. Most film programs do not provide enough time to go fully into the issues, therefore it is advisable to supply printed material which gives additional information, describes action taking place in the community, ways for persons to get involved, and a bibliography of relevant books and articles. (*To End War*, an annotated bibliography of war/peace literature, is suggested as a resource; see the description on page 141.)

CONSIDER room arrangement and program format as important aspects of a film program. Be experimental. For example, you might:

- arrange chairs around tables with candles and ashtrays in a "coffee house" atmosphere. Have coffee served at the table after the film. Light candles so that a mood will not be broken by switching on the lights.

- have a discussion leader at each table who has previewed the film and is prepared with a discussion guide.

- have the audience fill in evaluation forms giving their reactions to the film itself and to the program format.

- ask a speaker to give a brief introduction to the film.

- have a panel of 3 or 4 speakers respond to the film in brief 5-10 minute statements before starting discussion groups.

- have the members of the audience set down on paper their immediate reactions to the film and give them to the leader before the discussion.

Project Payoffs:

Payoffs from a film program cover a huge range--reaching new people who might come out to see a film but not to attend a rally or lecture, increasing people's knowledge of a certain issue, provoking thought about the problem of war, etc. But probably the most important payoff will be motivational, stimulating people to want to *do* something. For just that reason, FOLLOWING STEPS are essential. Otherwise that new will to act may be lost.

Following Steps:

The nature of follow-upactivity is as varied as the number of topics dealt with in the films. Next steps could include gathering members of the group to make arrangements and raise funds so that others--many others--can see the same film. A women's group in Columbia, Maryland, was moved by the film *You Don't Have to Buy War, Mrs. Smith!* and worked on just such arrangements. Or, a letter-writing, visiting campaign could be started to influence a congressman on an issue raised by a film. Those interested could start a more extended study program.

"We have decided, perhaps thanks to our Puritan ancestors, that learning is a serious business and has little time or room for 'mere play.' But we now realize that play means full involvement in some activity and this involvement is also education."
Jeff Schrank

Simulation Games

Nature of Project:

Tired of lecturing? Too much talk? Too many movies? Try games! The idea of using games to teach has solid foundations in educational theory. The military has used "games" for centuries to better learn the intricacies of war. "Chess" tells us much about the values and social structure of the Middle Ages, while "Monopoly" tells us much about the 20th century. Games are "play" and we now realize that "play" means full involvement and that it educates. Games can be used effectively with almost any age group and size.

Simulation games are an attempt to recreate and relive a real life situation in a way that helps players experience new ways of seeing, feeling, believing, and doing. They are a way to "walk in another man's moccasins." An education simulation game is *not* a complete learning experience in itself but should always be used in conjunction with such other learning resources as related film, speakers, readings, group discussions. Where a simulation helps the learner gain insights into the dynamics of certain international situations, most simulations do not provide substantive information about those situations. Therefore additional resources are always needed.

Reflection time is always needed as part of the use of a game. Without a reflection (or debriefing) period in which the players talk through the way they played and make relationships between their play of the game and real-life situations, the simulation becomes only a game and lacks educational value. In the games listed here, the times shown for each game include time for reflection and integration of learnings.

Possible audience:

A church school class, an adult seminar, a men's or women's group, youth group, a weekend gathering, conference, or workshop. The games listed vary from a minimum of 45 minutes to several days in duration. Some have considerable flexibility while others are fixed.

Project Payoffs:

1. Games usually elicit interest and involvement where more conventional approaches fail. The "data" that is created is real to the players because they created it and can talk more easily about it than they can about the abstract behavior of nations and governments of which they are not a part.

2. Games are a great way to get into a complex, potentially boring, but important and perhaps critical area of international life. Games "make

real" and often stimulate deeper discussion and followup of the real issues.

3. Participants come to know each other in a new way. Games are especially good in groups who don't know each other well, as they require interaction. By providing a "common experience" they facilitate the "getting to know you" process.

Resources Available to do it in your Congregation:

AFSC staff members and volunteer trainers have had some experience with the use of simulation games in local church settings and are enthusiastic about their use in situations in which there is carefully planned followup. We have played and led the games listed on the following page and can advise you regarding their use. In some cases we may be able to provide direct leadership at your request.

The primary source of simulations for *rental* is the Church Center for the United Nations. When ordering from them, indicate the number of participants and give two alternate dates.

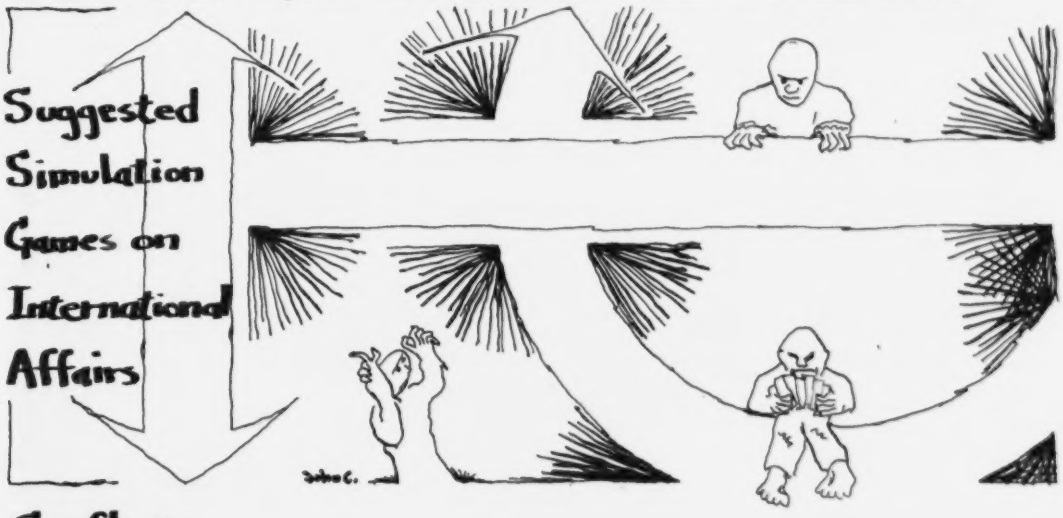
Address inquiries to: Simulation
Church Center for the United Nations
777 United Nations Plaza
Room 10-E
New York, New York

Baldicer

deals with food production and distribution. Each participant is Food Coordinator for 150 million people. In each round he simulates his people at work, earning balanced diet certificates (Baldicers). After a period of trading, bargaining, and purchasing, he calculates his status and determines whether or not he is still 'alive' and may continue to play. Those who 'die' become part of the world conscience, trying to arouse the 'live' players.

Stresses the interrelated nature of world economy. Learners may develop sensitivity to problems of food production, plight of poor-developing countries, use and abuse of power and wealth internationally. Ethical and theological themes of work include: How may justice be executed? How may liberation be effected? What values are placed upon human/environmental/economic development?

Designed for ten to twenty players. Published by John Knox Press, Box 1176, Richmond, Virginia 23209 at $25.00. Rental from CCUN $3.00.



Conflict

simulates a futuristic model of a disarmed world based on a nation state system. Nations depicted in this model are locked in ideological and economic struggles and racked by distrust and jealousies quite similar to today -- only in a disarmed situation militarily. Designed to enable learners to consider imaginative alternative structures and means for the future, as well as test these out in simulated action. *Conflict* also forces the examination of the learner's value assumptions and implications resulting from putting them into practice. Participants experience the appeal of national loyalties, distrust and trust-building among nations possessing vastly different degrees of power in the system.

Designed for twenty-four to thirty-six players. Will be published in final form around January 1973 by World Law Fund, 11 West 42nd St. New York, New York 10036. (212/WI7-2190) Experimental version available for rental from CCUN $12.50.

Resources

Dangerous Parallel

simulates international negotiation and decision-making -- participants are divided into six teams, representing the Cabinets of six nations involved in a world crisis. Players get briefing information on their country's policies. Although not intended as a tool for teaching history, this simulation is designed from a specific recent international crisis. Learners may develop insight into consequences of particular policies and skills relating to decision-making, coalition formation, rapid thinking, and bargaining. Ethical issues: use of power and tactical maneuvers.

Designed for eighteen to thirty-six players. Scott, Foresman and Co., 1900 E. Lake Ave., Glenview, Ill. 60025 $60.00. Rental from CCUN $7.50.

Disarmament

A behavioral-analogue simulation which involves two groups in the problems of conflict, trust and negotiation. Each player contributes $2.00 to his team's treasury; each team pays 40% of its treasury to the Common Bank (the umpire) at the outset. The teams are then torn between 1) disarming, trusting in negotiation, or 2) calling for attack on the other group; either alternative being either financially advantageous or disastrous, depending on what the other group has done. Learners may develop awareness of the necessity of trust in negotiations, skill in formulation of group goals and policy, and skills in negotiation. Generates several issues for theological and ethical reflection: national loyalty, use of military approaches to solving human problems, justice, reconciliation, and use of power.

Designed for eight to thirty players. Instructions and discussion guide available from CCUN $1.50.

The Money Game

simulates some of the economic interactions between developed (rich) and developing (poor) countries. A special conference is called by Ghana to deal with crisis in trade for developing nations. The game director may make research assignments for advance preparation. Requires three rounds totalling four and one-half hours. Ethical imperatives for use of power and wealth in relation to development may become explicit.

Designed for eighteen people. Published in March 1970 *Concern* magazine. *Concern*, 475 Riverside Dr., Room 401, New York, N.Y. 10027, 25¢ per copy.

Plans

Participants are members of interest groups (Military, Civil Rights, Nationalists, Internationalists, Business and Labor) using their influence to produce change in American society. Each group has assigned goals for society and selects from fifteen policies to fulfill its goals. Strategy is laid to implement desired policies and to block conflicting policies. Learners may develop insight into positions of alternate pressure groups and their ethical justification.

Designed for twelve to thirty-six players. Published by WBSI. Rental from CCUN $4.50.

Propoganda

introduces players to some techniques used to distort the thinking process. Goal is to identify blocks to good communication to move from the 'Ding-A-Ling' section to 'Clear Thinking'. Increased awareness of manipulative techniques, their ethical meanings for security and liberation.

Designed for two to four players. Published by Wiff 'n Proof Publishers, Box 71-4S, New Haven, Conn. 06501. $6.00. Rental from CCUN 75¢.

The Road Game

Four territorial groups (represented on a large piece of paper) each try to draw roads from its area through another group's territory to the opposite edge of the paper. Negotiation takes place between groups only through their leaders. Unanimous permission must be given before one group may enter another group's territory. The flexibility of the game is one of its greatest assets. Virtually any characteristics may be assigned the territorial groups, consequently the negotiations may take place between any desired groups. Moves quickly on such issues as power, cooperation, patriotism, dissent, decision-making, consensus building, justice.

Designed for twelve to thirty-two players. Published by Herder and Herder, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. $1.45 for teacher's book.

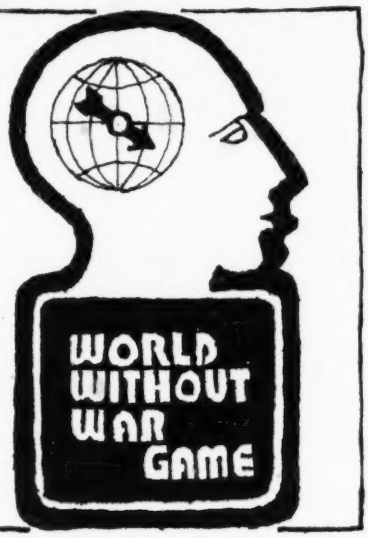
Star Power

very versatile simulation game. Players assume roles as members of a group in a three-tiered society. Through trade dealings a player may be moved from one group to another. As the society's stratification becomes fixed, one of the groups may institute any desired rules. Particularly useful for identifying abuses of power, communication skills, characteristics of social organization, and whatever personal agenda related to aggression that the players bring.

Ideal for twenty to forty players. Available from Dr. R. Garry Shirts, WBSI. Instructions only $3.00; complete eighteen to thirty-five student kit $35.00. Rental of kit from CCUN $3.00.

This game contains all the materials a person will need to plan a weekend experience for twenty to forty people. It contains dramas, a group dynamics laboratory game, two sample narrative scripts for three persons, curriculum samples, suggestions for films and a staff notebook. "Intended for those who cannot imagine being alive at this time in history without DOING something creative, thoughtful, and constructive to HELP END WAR, whatever the odds."

Available from WWWC, Publications Editor, 1730 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif. 94709. Only $10.00, five or more 10% off. Cal. residents add 5 1/2% tax. Discounts: bookstore 40%, library 10%.



Resources

"... the most effective means of communication is the oldest... the man with some-to say and the power to say it vigorously may declare: 'Yea, though I go down into the valley of visual and audio aids, I will fear no evil, for a man talking is still the world's best show.'" --Halford Luccock

Speakers

Nearly everyone is familiar with a program featuring a speaker -- to entertain, to keynote a following discussion, to set forth a particular position. Despite a decline in popularity in recent years (the trend is toward more "experiential" programs), speakers remain a highly important part of any attempt to reach people with new ideas. Surely they are appropriate for many types of church and synagogue gatherings. Oftentimes a denominational or other judicatory body can give you help on getting the kind of speaker you want on the topic you are interested in. A few of the other places that might be helpful for program on war/peace issues are listed below. Be sure to begin making arrangements with plenty of lead time.

United World Federalists, Inc.
2029 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

"a non-partisan, political action organization working for world peace through enforceable world law by strengthening the United Nations."

Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom
1 North 13th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
Tel. (215) KI6-6082

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
156 Fifth Avenue, Room 508
New York, New York

Business Executives Move for
Vietnam Peace
c/o Henry Niles
901 N. Howard Street
Baltimore, Md.
Tel. 837-5600

B.E.M. will provide speakers "tailored to your local needs." Especially appropriate for businessmen's groups.

Vietnam League of North America
147-19 41st Avenue
Flushing, New York
Tel. (212) 463-5715

A group of Vietnamese students and professors in the U.S., "anxious to speak to American audiences." Topics include: political movements in Vietnam, the nature of the Saigon regime. Travel expenses and overnight hospitality should be provided.

SANE
c/o Naomi Pullman
318 Mass. Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C.
Tel. (202) 546-4868

A group deeply involved in efforts to end the Vietnam war and to reduce the military budget, SANE "will attempt to provide the appropriate speaker for your local needs."

AFSC can also help you find the right speaker for your situation, drawing both from local people and from national sources through its speakers division in the national office in Philadelphia (contact regional office).

This brings up another possibility for the use of speakers in programs: many groups (especially those with a national structure) have a regular speakers service which schedules people who have a message they believe many people ought to hear. Such speaking tours occur periodically -- not necessarily in response to local requests, although oftentimes local groups are quite happy to tie into such a setup. Usually such an arrangement entails honoraria and travel expenses and also provisions for lodging.

As an example, AFSC schedules such speaking tours (if you want to be kept regularly informed of such opportunities, let the regional office know). The possibilities through such an arrangement cover a very wide range: speakers who set the human climate for a later political discussion, speakers with rich background experience who come primarily as "resource people," speakers who have a particular strong and perhaps novel or controversial point of view to present.

Resources

In-Depth Study

Action/Purpose:

The prelude to truly meaningful work on a particular issue must often be in-depth study about the problem. And if the results of that study can be widely shared, the effects may multiply far beyond anything the original group would have been capable of doing itself. This might be especially true of complex issues such as development (see page 94) or the Selective Service System. In fact, just such a study and presentation concerning the draft was carried out last spring by a group of members of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation.

Nature of Project:

1. It is important as a first step for the group to become clear on its goals, on the purpose of the study. At BHC the goal was the creation of a panel discussion format of informed members who could present basic facts and certain conclusions about Selective Service and then answer questions from the audience. They wanted to deal both with questions individual young men face and with larger questions about conscription in a free society and what forms a draft law could take.

2. Decide what form the final results will take and to what group you feel ultimately responsible in reporting (if any). For example, the BHC study aimed at panel presentation (rather than written form), and it was reported first to the congregation, then made available for any other congregation or group that wished to have such a presentation.

3. Plan to meet regularly for a specified period of time.

4. Divide your time between reading, analysis, discussion, and recommendations for action. It would also be helpful to subdivide the total topic so that different individuals "specialize" in readings in certain areas, although there may well be some books valuable enough for all to read.

5. Finally, pull all the pieces together into the kind of presentation you want, and be persistent in your ways of presenting it to the congregation and the community. People are usually happy to find out about important topics from others who are truly well-informed.

Project Payoffs:

1. A much better grasp of the topic on your part and thus a *solid foundation for future action.* (So many efforts lack this kind of basis, and suffer both in effectiveness and perseverance as a result.)

2. Improved climate of information among the larger public around you, and perhaps a real stimulus to combined action.

Programs

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Programs

Worship Services

Nature of Project:

Many groups working on war/peace issues have found a worship service a good starting point for their efforts. The service can follow the structure of the congregation's normal liturgy. A particular theme (e.g., the theme of the project to be undertaken) with theme-oriented prayers, songs, and dialogue could be added to direct the service.

What's Been Done:

The following outlines a successful order of worship used by St. John The Evangelist United Church in Columbia, Maryland:

1 - Music for Gathering
2 - Call to Worship
3 - Peace-Oriented Song
4 - Litany
5 - Peace-Oriented Song
6 - Expression of Project Concerns
7 - Speaker
8 - Period of Meditation
9 - Closing Song

Payoffs:

1. Reaching a large number of people and stimulating thought within the context of the congregation about important war/peace issues.
2. Setting a favorable climate for future work within the congregation.
3. Bringing the members of the group together to enhance the group's awareness of each other.
4. Informing other people of the group's presence and perhaps attracting a few to join the efforts.

Resources:

Check with your denominational office (or equivalent judicatory) for resources. Listed below are a few such resources with suggested liturgy.

"Suggestions for a Peace Liturgy" (Rev. Robert W. Hovda); "Interfaith Service for Peace" (Rev. Robert W. Hovda); "Peace Eucharist" (Stan Haele) (These three services are available from SET THE DATE NOW, 100 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002)
"Non-Violence" (a liturgy created for the Community of John XXIII, Oklahoma City, Okla.), available through the Liturgical Conference, 1330 Massachusetts Ave., Rm. 210, Washington, D.C. 20005, for $.75.
"Kolnidre", 5730 - Sept. 21, 1969 - Tifereth Israel; "Liturgy for Hiroshima;" "Tish B'ar;" "Yom Kippur" (These four services available from Micah Press, 1808 Wyoming Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009)
"Good Friday Liturgy": Liturgy of the Ark, Liturgy of the Cross, Confession of Corporate Guilt, Greening of America Liturgy, Bleeding of America Liturgy, Liturgy of Crucifixion. (Available from The Liturgical Conference; single copy $1.00; quantity rates also available.)
"Today Songs for Today's People" (six new songs each month for twelve months written for liturgical celebrations. $15.00 for twelve months.)
Prayers of the Social Awakening, by Walter Rauschenbusch.
"Blessed are the Poor", Ecumenical Peace Institute of the Bay Area, parish organizing manual. Free Church Pub., P.O. Box 9177, Berkeley, Cal.

Research indicates that attitudes about war and peace are formed very early, in pre-school environments, and that basic orientation is acquired by the 8th grade.

From *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*, (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co. 1968)

An Audience: Children

Introduction

Children ask about war:

Are they bad men who are dropping the bomb?
Is there going to be a war?
If it happens when I'm at school, where will you be?
Is it true we will all be blown up and killed?
Why war?

Two generalizations about the threat of war as perceived by children:

First:
They do perceive it. Children do ask about nuclear war and the danger of war and share in the knowledge that, as John Kennedy stated, "Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or madness."

Second:
Children of all ages learn their basic orientation from the important adults in their life. What we value they will value, what we fear will be feared by them. Therefore, children will perceive nuclear danger not only in terms of what is said to them, but in terms of how adults think and feel about the matter. What seems to matter is that adults have positive goals for the future, and are willing to respond to danger as a challenge. This means that the problem is largely one of adults being willing to face facts and to think about them and clarifying their own values about the moral choices involved.

As your church or synagogue moves forward in projects that unite the wills and skills of its members in work to end war, the question will naturally arise: "What is the place of children in dealing with peace issues?"

The mere asking of this question will lead the thoughtful adult to look more closely at his or her own values, and the way in which values are being formed among children, either consciously or unconsciously. What effect in shaping values on war/peace issues do children's toys, games, TV programming, and schooling have? Is there any effect? Is it positive or negative? By intention or default? Are children adequately prepared to deal with conflict at many levels: inter-personal, inter-group, international, or are they taught to avoid dealing with conflict, perhaps, by our own example of too frequently refusing to deal with subjects which are admittedly controversial (and by implication important!)?

The programs suggested in this section focus on several starting points for local church study and action. The overlap of concerns is immediately evident, and some may wish to plan several programs in succession to more adequately deal with the variety of issues raised.

Programs: Children

Conflict and conflict resolution are relevant to every grade and age level. They affect the child at the lower grades in his relations to his playmates, his parents, his school. As he grows older, he will be conscious of the conflicts in his community, his city, state, country, and in the world. An open, clear, and honest effort to deal with conflict in all its ramifications and ambiguities can not only help restore relevance to the schools, it can teach us to use conflict creatively and constructively.

Teaching Children about Conflict and War

Do schools have a responsibility to prepare their students to deal with, and eventually to control, war and violence? More specifically, do *religious schools* (Sunday schools, religious schools, parochial schools) have such a responsibility?

Many of us feel they do. But in a world where violence is pervasive and the human and social cost of war has become unbearable, most schools, religious and secular, have not accepted this responsibility.

How does *your* religious school raise and deal with values related to war, peace, conflict, and change? ...or do they? Is the present curriculum adequate, or does it need modification, or abandonment? Are church school teachers prepared to teach about war and peace? How are conflicts within the religious school handled? What does that teach the children involved about the nature of conflict and the way conflict should be resolved?

Suggested Tasks:

1) Examine your school's curriculum materials in light of the questions raised above and others you feel are important. If possible this could be done by a committee of interested religious school teachers prepared to discuss their findings and recommend next steps to the appropriate congregational body.

2) Examine materials available to members of the congregation who are parents to help them deal adequately and creatively with their children's growth in this area. Recommend and make available copies of the best articles and books. Sponsor some of the other programs suggested in this section which pinpoint some of the most commonly voiced problems/questions. *Always remember, when you ask parents what they want for their children, you are also asking them to clarify what they want for themselves, to face their own value choices, their own fears and hopes.*

Key Resources:

1) Children and the Threat of Nuclear War, by S. Escalona, 27 pp., 1964, Child Study Association, $.50. Offers guidelines to help a mother answer her three year old's question, "What's war?". Faces the possibility of nuclear war.

2) "What should Kids be Taught About Peace and War?" *War/Peace Report* magazine, January 1971. A dialogue among four practitioners. A far ranging discussion especially useful to teachers, but recommended for all concerned with this problem. Good ideas for looking at a religious school curriculum.

3) Two recent special issues of *Intercom* magazine: *Education about War, Peace, Conflict, and Change*, Vol. 12, #3, 1970; *Teaching About War, Peace, Conflict, and Change*, Vol. 13, #2, 1971.

Together these two issues represent one of the best overviews of concrete work being done in the field of education on war/peace issues. Packed with stimulating and informative material. A "must" for those interested in mainstream elementary and secondary school curriculum. Many surprising advances being made. Good bibliography of books and organizations doing work in this area. $1.50 each; available from the Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18th St., New York, N.Y. 10003. (Limited quantities available from AFSC)

4) *Teaching in a Society in Crisis*, a mimeographed kit of curriculum ideas for secondary school teachers (with great application to religious schools). Collected by AFSC in 1968. $.50.

5) *To End War*, Pickus and Woito, (see description of this book on page 141 of this *Workbook*) has a chapter in the "resources" section entitled "Choosing an Audience: An Example" with children as the focus. Good bibliography.

6) "The Why of War," by Ruth Harriet Jacobs, an article in *War/Peace Report*, Oct. 1970, *a copy is included in this workbook section.* It explores the basic misunderstandings college students have about WHY nations go to war. These misunderstandings begin in childhood.

7) *Books for Friendship:* A List of Recommended Books for Children, published by the AFSC and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. It suggests a *criterion* for the selection of children's books that would be very helpful to parents and teachers. Available from AFSC, $1.25.

8) *A Creative Life for Your Children*, by Margaret Mead, 41 pages, $.35 per copy. Order from The Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Allow 6-8 weeks for delivery. An excellent concise statement on creativity in children, now in its 5th printing.

Programs:
Children

The Green Circle Program

Children in all ages grow up imitating their elders, acquiring their accents, gestures, likes, and dislikes. Thus, along with positive attitudes, prejudices may be born, derived from "built-in" discriminatory patterns and unexamined cultural stereotypes.

The Green Circle Program seeks to change these negative reactions. Its symbol is the growing (green) circle, the symbol of inclusiveness and acceptance. Its method is one of dialogue or conversation between instructor and the children. The Green Circle Program in addition seeks to establish a foundation for the growth of positive feelings by stressing universal human needs, the need on the part of each child for respect, and his need for a sense of belonging.

The tools and materials used in the program include a magnetic steel board on which the expanding circles and symbolic figures are placed as the "lesson" progresses. The children's responses create the "lesson" and the volunteer instructor is then challenged to guide their thinking in a manner calculated to bring about intelligent and supportive social attitudes.

The program is most effective at the third and fourth grade level and in the intimate classroom rather than in the assembly setting.

For more information on how to bring the Green Circle Program to your school or church, call or write the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Volunteer demonstrators are needed to expand the Green Circle program in your area. Call the above number for information.

War Toys and T.V. Violence: Their Effect

Nature of Project:

Many parents and people working with children have expressed concern about the widespread violence to which children are increasingly exposed. War toys, TV violence, and games children are taught, are often cited as contributors to unnecessary violence among children. Others say toys, TV, and games do not contribute to violence, they only reflect the larger violence of society that would happen with or without war toys, etc. Research has been done with inconclusive and often contradictory results.

What seems increasingly clear is that the *way* parents deal with the question of war toys and TV violence is as important as the final position they take. Whether the decision is to permit or deny war toys, children can learn much about the values involved.

This topic can be used in the local congregation to stimulate lively and thoughtful discussion which challenges parents to consider many of their own root values in relation to war and peace. This subject has an immediacy that many other discussions of war/peace issues lack, thus you may wish to see such a program as a prelude to consideration of larger issues.

Alternative suggestions for a Local Church Program:

1) Sponsor a *panel discussion* on the subject. (Just prior to Christmas and Hannukah is an obviously good time to discuss the role of toys and the meaning of our gifts.)

Ask two or three experienced teachers, psychologists, social workers, etc., to discuss the arguments pro and con, or develop your own "experts" by asking two or three congregation members to read some selections from the pamphlet described below and to represent a particular position (even though it's not their own) during the ensuing discussion.

2) Show a *film* followed by discussion. Several deal specifically with TOYS and have a particular argument (usually against them) to make which could be the basis of a pro or con discussion.

The Magician

13 min., 1963, B&W (Available from AFSC-MAR for $5 rental, or from Mass Media Ministries, 2116 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218 for $10.) A military officer, posing as a magician, uses his magic tricks to lure small boys to a shooting gallery. There they overcome their fear of the guns, become amused at the idea of shooting, and learn to enjoy their powers of destruction before being marched over a sand dune to a war that waits to consume them. A powerful allegory on the systematized destruction and murder man can commit.

Toys on a Field of Blue

20 min., 1966, B&W, rental from MMM (see above) is $7.50. The guilt and torment an old war veteran has suffered in silence for years over his part in World War I emerges when on a drunken Christmas Eve he sees

Programs: Children

children playing horrendous war games. The film shows how adults perpetuate war by taking it for granted, glorifying it, giving war toys to their children. Very well done. Suitable for any age group.

Toys

7 min., color, produced by National Film Board of Canada (rental from Contemporary Films, 330 W. 24th St., New York, N.Y. 10036, $12.50). Children joyfully watching toys through a store window react with horror and fascination as the toys come to life and fight kill and die to the sound of real warfare in the background. Very well filmed, this is effective in showing the way war is regarded as a game, and the perpetuation of this attitude through war toys. Suitable for any age group.

Possible Next Steps:

1) If interest warrants, suggest a more intensive look at the problem as described in the section on TEACHING CHILDREN ABOUT CONFLICT AND WAR.

2) Invite an instructor from GREEN CIRCLE (further described in this section) to lead a group in your religious school or children's program. Contact AFSC for details.

3) Write or visit the manager, buyer, or owner of local stores selling war toys telling them of the conclusions of your discussion (if any) and the course you recommend.

4) Leaflet heavy shopping areas durin the holiday shopping season with a simple, provocative, but not heavily moralistic, printed piece which raises the problem of toys of violence in an informed way. Give an address where further information can be secured for those interested.

The Why of War

While teaching a course in the sociology of war in Boston during the summer, the author learned that many well-educated young people have basic misunderstandings about why nations go to war.

By *Ruth Harriet Jacobs*

Soon after the massive student protests last May, following the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State killings, a group of concerned students at Boston University, with the cooperation of the university, organized a Communiversity to provide free education to the people of Boston during the summer. Many Boston University faculty members, including myself, volunteered as instructors. I offered a course which I conceived of as the sociology of war, but which the student organizers aptly retitled "The Why of War" for their brochure. As the course progressed, I discovered that tremendous confusion about the *why* of war exists among presumably well-educated Americans.

About 60 persons participated in the five-week course. The class members ranged from young working people to a 60-year-old physician, but most were college students.

All participants were asked, at the outset, to fill out a questionnaire that I thought would be useful for the class. One question was, "Why do you think there are wars?" In response, almost everybody gave psychological explanations for war.

A typical answer, for example, was a 20-year-old secretary's statement that "every man has an evil part of him, or just a non-loving part." A 21-year-old male, who listed his occupation as "driver," replied simply, "greed." A 20-year-old male student wrote, "people's fear and pride," while a 21-year-old female student wrote that "people don't understand one another." A 25-year-old cabinet maker listed "boredom" as his explanation of war, and a graduate student wrote, "people's insecurity."

Because of the influence of either religion or their Western cultural tradition, these people generally saw individual man as the evil that causes war. Most did not conceptualize beyond the personal level. It seemed that despite their interest in eliminating war, which led them to come to class during the hot summer, these quite intelligent people had accepted the myth that war is inevitable.

The first few nights of class confirmed this hypothesis. Everyone participated in small group discussions led by three volunteers from the

School of Education, Drs. Calvin Deam, Blanche Serwer, and Ellen Winklestein. Some students offered fallacious monistic theories of war which explain it according to the biological or psychological nature of man. Others proposed the fatalistic notion of war as nature's demographic pruning hook, or the indicator of God's will. And still others suggested a variety of explanations based on man's motivational system, saying that his insecurity or death wish or innate aggression are expressed in war. It was necessary to present considerable evidence to rebut these and other simplistic theories of war.

The students had failed to realize a central issue of the *why* of war:that war is not something intrinsic, but rather a cultural invention of man. It is an institution legitimated in certain cultural traditions as an instrument of national policy to settle conflicts between states. Clergy on both sides accompany the troops because the mores legitimate war in some societies.

But war is *not* inevitable. Many cultures have not invented it.

Naive Notions

Although most of the students had had college work in sociology, government and history, they came to their study of war with no grasp of its institutional nature and, therefore, with rather naive notions about how to work for peace. I had to give them a historical review before they could see that many generations, including the pre-Pearl Harbor Americans and pre-World War II Britons, had been anti-war but had become fighters nevertheless when war erupted. These young people seemed to think that their generation was the first in history to be against war. They had to learn how many peaceloving people in previous times had become involved in wars not because they liked war or were aggressive, but because they were put into the role of fighters by their society. I had to give a "crash" course in anthropology and psychology to show them the plastic nature of man and how he is molded by his culture. Man fights not because of innate hate, but because his society on which he is dependent tells him to fight. His society tells him to fight because of national conflicts, not because individuals love to kill.

Along with their personalistic view of war, these educated young people also had the naive notion that similar nations do not go to war and that people who know each other would not fight. My historical reminders of switches in national animosities were of less value than a classroom demonstration given by two of the students. One was an American graduate student in chemistry and the other, a Canadian graduate student in the history of science. The latter had said earlier that he felt war was due to individual fear. They simulated for the class how Canada and the United States, traditional friends, could become enemies and oppo-

nents in war if our water became scarce and Canada refused to sell some to the United States. The young men's tense dramatization was a frightening reminder that there are indeed real conflicts in international affairs which even similar nations would consider legitimately settled by war in the absence of better cultural inventions to arbitrate conflicts.

It was necessary for me to demonstrate in many ways that war is an institution and must be understood on this level rather than in the plane of individuals. Until students could understand this, they could not begin to look at war as a bad institution invented by men, and they could not consider how men could invent better institutions for settling conflicts. But when the students did begin to take the institutional approach, they were then willing to look at past inadequate inventions to replace war and to concede that it is necessary, for the first time in history, to make the same commitment to better social inventions that men have made to perfecting the technology of war and technology in general. About 10 of the young people were excited enough by the challenge to continue meeting as a study group after the formal course ended. Everyone in the class received a reading list on war at the end of the course.

I myself finished the course with mixed feelings. This group of young people had been motivated to spend time during the summer to come to this non-credit course largely because they were horrified by war in general and by the Vietnam War in particular. Many of them were active in peace organizations and had a strong commitment toward eliminating war. Yet, their educational and other experience thus far had given them many basic misconceptions that prevented intelligent thought or action on war. Given some background, the students were quick to grasp the real nature of war as an unfortunate social invention and a bad institution, and they began to think on the level of effective action. I could see the change in their thinking when members of the class rebutted the monistic theories that late comers spouted.

Since war weapons have been perfected to a point threatening human survival, perhaps educators should begin to include in their courses some antidote to the myths about war that, to judge from my experience, are held by many idealistic but naive young people. Young people sing sweetly "give peace a chance" and paint peace symbols. They think that war might be erased by substituting love on a one-to-one basis for hate. They need, however, a basic education in the political and economic considerations that move nations to resort to war. Then, they can work toward inventing and supporting bloodless mechanisms for settling conflicts. To those who scream for relevant education, we have an obligation to include realistic teaching about war in our curriculums, at all levels from the primary grades through the university.

If this were done, perhaps then the young generation's yearning for peace could be transformed into the application of intelligence to invent ways to replace the institution of war. The youth are always rather unrealistically expected to deliver for society, but the youth, in this case, cannot deliver on their idealism without some realistic knowledge about the real nature of war.

From *WAR/PEACE REPORT*
October 1970

(Ruth Jacobs is an assistant professor of sociology at Boston University.)

Programs

Conscience and the Draft:

Introduction

Peanuts
WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU GET DRAFTED?
THEY SEND YOU SOMEPLACE
THAT'S WHAT I WAS AFRAID OF
I HAVE NO DESIRE TO BE SENT WHEREVER THEY'LL BE SENDING PEOPLE WHEN I'M OLD ENOUGH TO BE SENT...

We must take a second look at our responsibility toward young men in our congregations or community who are faced with the prospect of the draft.

The phasing out of college deferments means that the burden of counseling young men about the draft is shifting from the college campus to the high school and community and religious organizations. Do counseling services already exist? Will young men asking questions about the draft be able to find answers in their church, synagogue, or community? Will those who don't ask questions merely try to "beat the draft" by avoiding it or else drift, without thinking, into the armed forces?

The draft laws call explicitly for draft information and counseling services to be made available to young men through the church or community organizations that they belong to. Most religious and community groups have failed in the past to assist young men in this first life-or-death decision that they must make. Now is the time to reassert the proper concern of these groups for their younger members.

The following programs present some of the wide variety of projects related to conscience and draft that any local group could undertake.

A Film and Discussion Program

Purpose:

To raise the issues of war and conscience for young men and for concerned adults.

An evening program might consist of the following:

Feature film: The Witness

A twenty minute, sixteen mm. film portraying the life of Franz Jagerstatter, *The Witness* raises profound questions about the right of conscience and the limits of State powers. Jagerstatter was an Austrian peasant who sought to gain acceptance for his conscientious objection to all wars. His confrontations with his family, his priest, church and eventually state authorities is moving. Jagerstatter was finally beheaded by the courts of Nazi Germany for his principled refusal to participate in war.

Discussion Questions:

1. When the dictates of conscience conflict with majority decisions, how can the conflict be resolved?

2. Is participation in warfare ever right? Jagerstatter accepts a degree of responsibility for his acts which even the Nuremburg Tribunals would not accord him. To what extent is an individual soldier responsible for a) the decision to go to war; b) the goals of the war; c) the means employed in the fighting; and d) the extent to which violence is kept to a minimum and civilian targets spared?

3. Jagerstatter witnessed to a belief which had little effect on the state in which he grew up. Was his witness for a truth which could be realized on this earth or is an end to war only the dream of saints and commoners?

4. What alternatives to violent international conflict exist or could be developed today?

Supplemental Reading:

In Solitary Witness, the Life and Death of Franz Jagerstatter by Gordon Zahn, 277 pp., 1965, Beacon Press, $1.95.

Neither Victims Nor Executioners by Albert Camus, 28 pp., 1968, World Without War Council, $.25.

War and Conscience in America by Edward Long, Jr., 144 pp., 1968, Westminster Press, $1.65.

War and Moral Discourse by Ralph B. Potter, 128 pp., 1968, John Knox Press, $2.45.

Other films which deal with Conscience and the Draft:

Who Owns Tony Fargus

B&W, 10 mins. AFSC price $5.00. About a black youth having a personal appearance before his all-white draft board about his conscientious objector claim. Useful to stimulate discussion about taking the CO position and about some of the inequities of the draft.

The Magician

B&W, 13 mins. $5.00. A Polish film about a magician who entices a group of playing children into his shooting gallery with magic tricks and teaches them to shoot, first at impersonal targets and then at dolls. They are then led over the hill to war and their end. A dramatic view of military indoctrination.

No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger

B&W, 68 mins. Pratt Library. Following the progress of a group of blacks marching through Harlem to protest United States involvement in Vietnam, the film captures the reactions of the residents and onlookers. Intercut with the march are interviews with three black Vietnam veterans who discuss their experiences in Vietnam, racism in the armed forces, and their dissatisfaction with their life in the United States after their return.

Only the Beginning

A documentary of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War demonstration in Washington, D.C. in the spring of 1971. $25.00 from NF.

Programs: the Draft

Offspring

by Pete Seeger. Color, 5 mins. Pratt Library. An eight year old girl sings "Where have all the Flowers Gone"; the newsreel and still shots portray the horror of the Vietnam war, recording the atrocities committed by both the Viet Cong and the Americans.

Munro

Color, 9 mins. $10.00 from CF or RF. The excellent 1961 Academy Award winning Jules Feiffer cartoon in which a small boy is inducted into the army and routinely drilled and processed despite his continual protest, "I'm only four." Suitable for all ages.

Military Training Excerpt, Sons and Daughters

B&W, 18 mins. $30.00 from ADF. Basic infantry training at Fort Ord: camera and microphone observe the methods of developing a disciplined army. What price is paid by the individual soldier and the society in which he lives?

A concise and informative introduction to draft procedure. Available from AFSC, $ .15.

Film Sources:

ADF - American Documentary Films
336 West 84th Street
New York, N.Y.

CF - Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill
330 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

NF - Newsreel Film
Box 7101
Waverly Station
Baltimore, Md.

RF - Rembrandt Films
267 W. 25th Street
New York, New York

Enoch Pratt Free Library
Films Department
400 Cathedral Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Advisory Groups

Programs: Conscience and

Nature of Project:

Provide advisory groups ("Pre-counselors") for young men in your congregation or community organization. Each young man faced with prospect of military service should be offered adequate information and pre-counseling so that he will be able to make a conscientious decision regarding service to his country.

Church and community groups can demonstrate their concern by urging young men not simply to "avoid" the draft or to "drift" into military service, but to face the issue of the draft squarely and decide where they stand.

Such a program should combine a survey of your group's attitudes toward such an advisory group, education to provide young men with an accurate view of the issues and alternatives that they must consider, and action in the form of face-to-face advice. Find out what your national body has to say about conscience and war in its official statements. It might also provide services such as literature, counseling, or a registry for conscientious objectors.

What Others Have Done:

1. Several dioceses of the Episcopal Church have urged their parishes to set up parish advisory groups to counsel young men faced with the draft. The following article (reprinted from the EPF Newsletter) describes a program that is underway in Maryland:

Has the church neglected its responsibility toward young men faced with military service? A resolution concerning this issue was passed by the 187th Annual Convention of the Diocese of Maryland on May 15, 1971. The co-sponsors of the resolution were the Rev. Kingsley Smith, chairman of the Armed Forces Committee of the Diocese of Maryland, and the Rev. Rovan Wernsdorfer of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. As passed, the resolution stated:

WHEREAS, the choice of conscientious participation in or objection to military service is a serious issue for our time;
BE IT RESOLVED that each parish and mission, and each institution or chaplaincy serving young people, have an advisory group (or at least one person) to offer pastoral care appropriate to the needs of those facing military service or serving in the Armed Forces, such care to include:
1) sympathetic hearing of problems of conscience;
2) information about the Military Selective Service Act and about official statements of the General Convention, the House of Bishops and the Lambeth Conference concerning participation in war and the validity of conscientious objection;
3) ensuring that those entering service receive an Armed Forces Prayer Book and Cross and that they be sent bulletins and letters during their time away from home;
4) support for those who request alternative service;
5) consultation with the several draft counseling services available in the Diocese;
and that the Armed Forces Committee, with the assistance of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and others, give training, advice and material to those charged to offer this pastoral care.

Programs: the Draft

A committee consisting of members from both the EPF and the Armed Forces Committee has been established and will be responsible for seeing that an advisory group is set up in each parish. Training seminars were held in the fall.

Each parish advisory group will probably meet regularly to discuss issues involving the Church and military service with all seventeen and eighteen year olds. It will familiarize the young men with the spectrum of alternatives open to them. Those who enter the Armed Forces will continue to be provided with parish-level guidance. Those who conscientiously object to participation in war will be referred to professional counselors. Similar resolutions have been adopted by the Dioceses of California, Atlanta, and New Jersey.

2. The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has compiled two draft information kits for use in local congregations. One kit is designed to provide information on the various alternatives open to each young man. The other is designed to assist adult advisors to competently discuss issues of conscience and the draft with young men. They are both available from the National Office of the Presbyterian Church.

Caution: poor counseling may be hazardous to their health.

These advisory groups should function only in the capacity of "pre-counselors." Thus, they should raise issues which relate the concerns of their church or organization to the question of participation in or objection to war. But they should *not* offer technical advice, since the draft law is complex and constantly changing. Instead, they are designed to function as referral centers to professional and responsible draft counseling services like the Baltimore Draft Clearing House or the American Friends Service Committee. If you do not know your local counseling service, contact the nearest AFSC office.

Programs: Conscience and

As long as people retain the view that conscientious objection is an attitude which only the most pious, only the most loving and human can attain, then there is no hope for it as a policy. Many a prospective C.O. is deterred from seeking to be recognized as one because he is measuring himself against some saintly abstraction. To the extent that saints define the spiritual basis for a political movement it will remain elitist. There has been no room for sinners.

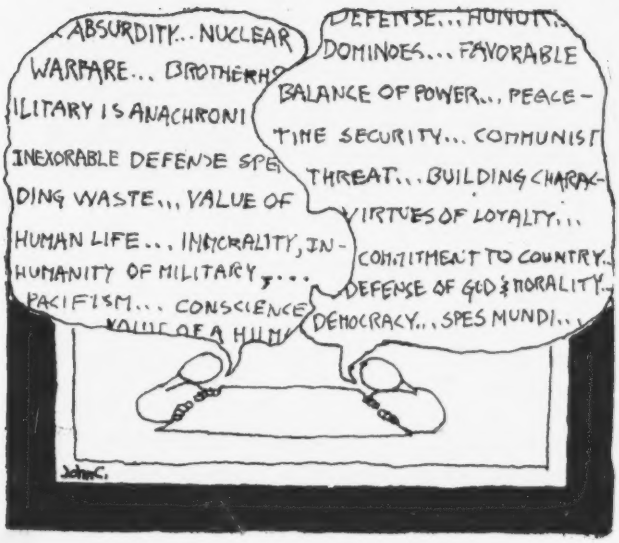
Cornelius Cooper - Black West Point cadet who obtained C.O. discharge

Conscientious Participation or Conscientious Objection: A Debate

Nature of Project:

A debate by two individuals who are committed to their differing philosophies of conscience and war. Such a debate could center around the religious issues involved in participating in or objecting to war. It should encourage thinking and discussion by members of your congregation or community group.

One interesting debate topic might be: Upon whom should the burden of proof rest? On the Christian who refuses to kill other men because of his religious beliefs? Or on the Christian who participates in war and killing?



Resources:

The organizations listed below provide speakers for the Baltimore area. Contact your nearest AFSC office (list, p. 142) for speakers in your area.

1. The Fort Holabird First Army Speaker's Bureau
2. Maryland Veterans for Peace
3. Vietnam Veterans Against the War
4. The Baltimore Draft and Military Clearing House
5. Check with AFSC for its Speakers List

Programs: the Draft

Somehow, parents and the mass media are expected to handle important social and political issues while at school it's business as usual.

Dean A. Allen

Community Groups and the Draft

Nature of Project:

1. NORTHWEST BALTIMORE CORPORATION
The Youth Services Bureau of the Northwest Baltimore Corporation has undertaken a program of draft information and counseling designed to meet the needs of that community. This action demonstrates how a community group can include draft counseling as one of its many service functions.

2. WORK ALONG WITH YOUR LOCAL YMCA
A church or community group can work with the local YMCA to establish draft counseling for YMCA and community youth groups. This would assist the local YMCA in implementing the position of the National YMCA that young men need counseling in questions of conscience. The National YMCA has prepared a *Draft Counseling Kit*.

Balanced Counseling in the High School

Do the guidance counselors in your local high school provide information from military recruiters and draft counseling centers alike? Are military recruiters and professional draft counselors *both* invited to the high school's "Career Day"? If not, the young men in your community may be receiving an incomplete picture of the alternatives open to them.

What can you do to correct this one-sided presentation? Your church or community group could urge, in a policy paper, that the school board provide balanced military and draft counseling for all men of high school age. It could also introduce similar resolutions into local high school PTA meetings, survey student attitudes on this question, and ask the high school student council to consider the issue.

What's Been Done:

1. A high school draft counseling proposal has been prepared by a "Citizen's Committee for Full Information on the Draft" and was accepted by the Baltimore City school board in early 1972. Similar proposals can be formulated for presentation to various county school boards.

2. In 1971, the National Student Government Association passed unanimously a resolution recommending that draft counseling be provided in high schools across the country.

3. In some local schools, plans are under way to begin low-level counseling and "rap sessions" These will be run by students and will examine questions of conscience and the draft along with other peer issues. An example of a question of conscience is: When a young man is applying for a conscientious objector status, he is now required by the questionnaire to justify *any* involvement (including as a non-combatant in the service). Because of this new area, rap sessions for young people could be organized to provide a forum for working out such answers.

Draft Information Workshop

Nature of Project:

A draft information workshop held for a congregation's high school youth group would serve to prepare them to deal conscientiously with the draft, with military service, and with alternate service. Such a workshop would also supply information about new draft regulations, such as additions and elimination of classifications and changes of draft procedures.

A separate workshop for the parents of the young men concerned with the draft would supply the parents with current draft information and help them understand the decisions that confront their sons.

A competent draft counselor should direct the workshop. A counselor should be pre-informed of any special interests that a group may have so that the workshop would best suit the needs of the group.

GUIDE TO THE DRAFT, by Arlo Tatum and Joseph Tuchinsky, Latest ed. The complete guide. $2.45

FACE TO FACE WITH YOUR DRAFT BOARD: A GUIDE TO PERSONAL APPEARANCES, by Allan Blackman. Useful for draft counselors and for men facing board. $.95

HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, Twelfth ed. (Feb. 1972) of CCCO's basic and indispensible handbook. $1.00

ADVICE FOR CO'S IN THE ARMED FORCES, by CCCO (1970) A counterpart to the handbook, for GI's seeking CO discharges. $1.00

GI RIGHTS AND ARMY JUSTICE: THE DRAFTEE'S GUIDE TO MILITARY LIFE AND LAW, by Robert S. Rivkin. For the GI, full information about his rights; for the potential draftee, information about the kind of life he may be forced to lead. $1.75

GUIDELINES FOR HIGH SCHOOL DRAFT EDUCATION, a very practical guide to draft education and information aimed at the high school aged youth. EMP, Room 830, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa. $.20

THE RESISTANCE, by Michael Ferber and Staughton Lynd. An inside story of the draft resistance movement and its influence. $2.95

THE END OF THE DRAFT, by Thomas Reeves and Karl Hess. Proposals for ending the draft, a volunteer army, popular resistance to militarism, restoring individual freedom. The best draft repeal book around. $1.95

THE QUIET BATTLE, ed. by Mulford Sibley, Writings on nonviolent resistance. $2.95

THE PACIFIST CONSCIENCE, ed. by Peter Mayer. $2.65

The Responsibilities of the High School for Providing Information on Conscientious Objection to War, by Dean A. Allen.
Needed, Community Draft Counseling Services.
So You Would Fight if this Country Were Attacked?
Peace, War and the Christian Conscience, by Joseph Fahey. $.25
Religious Statements on Conscientious Objection. $.75

Programs

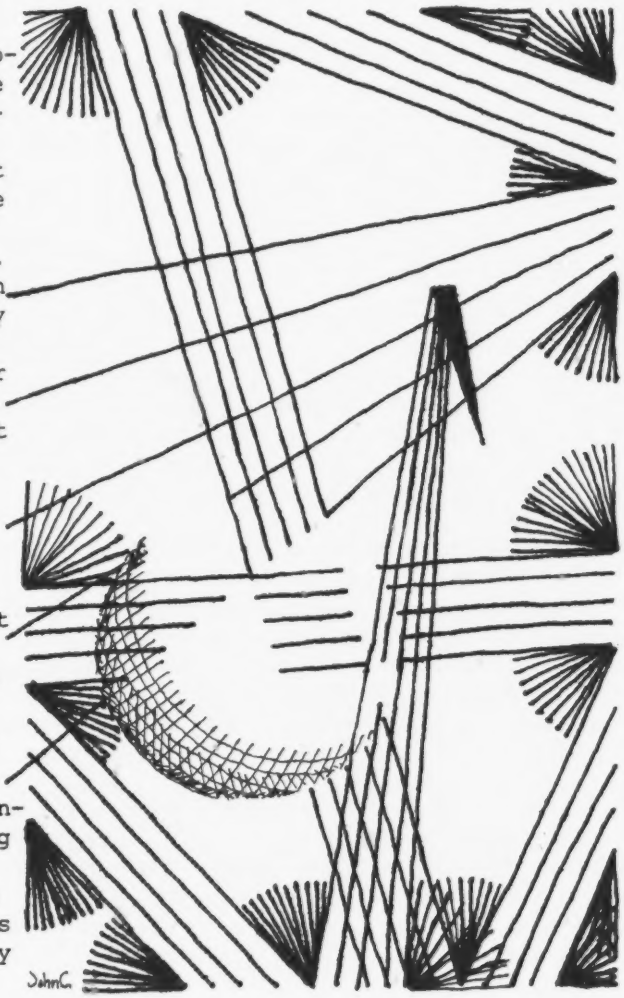
"It is not sufficient to propose an equivalent for the military virtues. It is even more important to work out an equivalent for the military methods and objectives. For the institution of war is not merely an expression of the military spirit. It is not a mere release of certain subjective impulses clamoring for expression. It is also--and, I think primarily--one of the ways by which great human decisions are made. If that is true, then the abolition of war depends primarily upon inventing and organizing other ways of deciding those issues which hitherto have been decided by war..."
"A way of deciding them which is not war." Is that way nonviolent resistance? Closer examination shows that it satisfies Lippmann's requirements.
...Richard B. Gregg quoting Walter Lippmann

Violence and Nonviolence

Psychologist Kenneth Keniston has called the question of violence the primary issue of the present era. For some this issue comes up as the issue of personal violence. For some it appears in decisions about the means for advancing certain causes they believe in deeply. For others it is manifested in decisions about foreign policy -- the Vietnam war, for instance -- or about demands for one's own participation in some of the violent forms that foreign policy often takes.

All are important questions. In all areas it is important to find nonviolent means of achieving ends for which violence is frequently used. But perhaps the most important such quest takes place in the area where violence is used most massively: national violence -- war.

The following projects have undertaken the task of exploring nonviolence and the ways it can be used as an alternative to violence. Similar projects could easily be implemented by a church or synagogue group.



Youth/Adult Compound Groups

Nature of Project:

The YAC groups are congregational discussion groups sponsored by Our Savior Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Maryland. Under the direction of Rev. Rovan Wernsdorfer, a recent YAC group spent six months investigating nonviolence. At weekly meetings the YAC groups closely studied Thomas Merton's *Gandhi on Nonviolence*. Speakers with a knowledge of nonviolence were often invited to the YAC meetings. The members of the YAC group were exposed to serious consideration of nonviolence and the alternatives it offers in place of violence.

Baltimore Nonviolence Workshop

Nature of Project:

46% of the American people say that war is an out-moded way of settling differences between nations, according to a June, 1971, Gallup poll. This is a project aimed at opening up the kind of discussion and exploration that one would expect to grow out of the level of dissatisfaction with the institution of war anyway. It is aimed at stimulating public awareness of possible alternatives to war, beginning with national defense through massive organized nonviolent resistance. Although many people may have heard of nonviolence as believed and practiced by Martin Luther King and his followers or by Mohandas Gandhi in India, few have encountered it presented in this context -- as a means to be used to resist or overcome an invader occupying one's country. Basically this means applying the same techniques we associate with nonviolent domestic struggles toward the invader -- strikes, boycotts, refusals to cooperate, refusals to pay taxes, demonstrations. Some are tempted to dismiss the possibilities of success immediately, feeling that such techniques only work in a domestic situation, or against certain "civilized" opponents. However, as one of many examples, such techniques were applied in a rudimentary way by several Scandinavian countries under Nazi occupation; Norwegian teachers so completely refused to cooperate despite great hardship that the Quisling regime was seriously weakened, and Denmark was able to save a large proportion of its Jewish population.

The BNVW's project is taking place in two phases:

Self-education -- a few months spent in reading and discussion to help members of the group become more thoroughly familiar with what nonviolent national defense would mean, what its advantages and disadvantages are in comparison with the present system of defense. Many in the group had no prior acquaintance with the concept. (Under "Resources" below, you will find a list of books that can help in this phase.)

Reaching others -- to select a target audience and to find imaginative ways of opening up awareness and discussion. For the BNVW, the target audience is the college campus, but the project could easily fit a congregation -- with a general series of events (speakers, films, simulation games) -- or a specific sub-group of the congregation such as the youth group.

Programs: Nonviolence

Project Payoffs:

1. More information for you and others on the all-important question of *alternatives to the present system of war*. A first step to achieving those alternatives is forming a clear vision of what they might be.

2. Opening a serious public discussion which has been avoided for a long time. Underlying many of the pressing public policy questions of today -- especially the Vietnam war -- is the question the Gallup poll quoted above brings to light: war is outmoded, many will agree; but what is the alternative? Where now can one find even a serious search for *thoroughgoing alternatives to the war system?* This project can initiate a search.

Resources: Literature
(many of these resources can be obtained through AFSC)

Gene Sharp, *"The Political Equivalent of War" - Civilian Defense*, $.50. best intro to subject. Also *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives*, $2.25.

In Place of War: An Inquiry Into Nonviolent National Defense, by AFSC. $1.45. Also good introduction to national defense based on nonviolence.

Sir Stephen King-Hall, *Defense in the Nuclear Age*, $1.00. Urges adoption of a policy of nonviolent resistance on wholly "pragmatic" grounds; by a former British naval commander who points out that he is not a pacifist.

Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, $1.95. Shows how nonviolent means are more effective and constructive than violent means.

Adam Roberts, ed., *Civilian Resistance as a National Defense: Nonviolent Action Against Aggression*, $1.65.

A. J. Muste, *How to Deal with a Dictator*, $.25. Explains how nonviolence can be used domestically to save democracy.

Mulford Q. Sibley, *The Quiet Battle*, $2.95. An excellent book outlining the philosophy of nonviolence and historic uses of nonviolence.

John G. Dunne, *Delano: The Story of the California Grape Strike*, $1.95.

Staughton Lynd, ed., *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History*, $3.45.

Roots of Jewish Nonviolence, by the Jewish Peace Fellowship, $1.00.

Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, $2.45. Good for understanding Gandhian principles in application.

T.K. Mahadevan, G. Ramachandran, eds. *Gandhi: His Relevance for Our Times*, $2.95

Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: The Origins of Militant Nonviolence*, $2.95.

Albert Camus, *Neither Victims Nor Executioners*, $.25.

Irenology, The Study of Peace: A Practical Manual for College Faculty, Students, and Administrators, by Joseph J. Fahey, $.10.

Thomas Mertin, *Gandhi on Nonviolence*, available from New Directions Publications, 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014, $1.50.

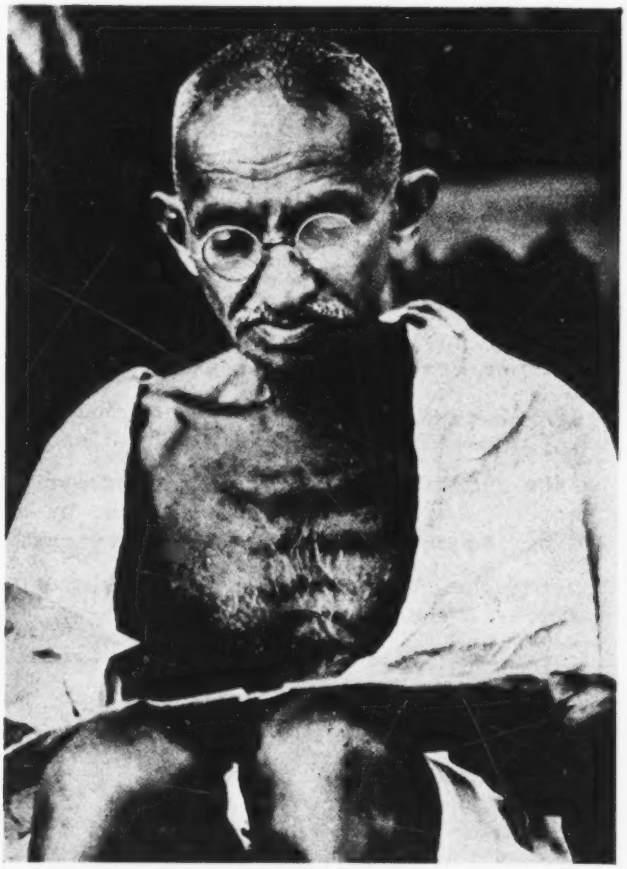
Speakers:

Speakers on the subject are often available. Contact AFSC-MAR or Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. Specify interest in nonviolent national defense.

Programs: Violence and Nonviolence

"The prophet of the Atomic Age is surely the Mahatma Gandhi. He demonstrated that radical political changes can be carried out without resort to violence."

Arnold Toynbee



Films:

1. *Mahatma Gandhi* (available for $5.00 rental from AFSC, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois 60605). Newsreel and other filmed documentary of his life and events with which he was associated. 19 mins., B&W.

2. *Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Man of Peace* (available free from Seattle Public Library). Film made to celebrate King's receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. He gives a clear exposition of his philosophy of nonviolence. 28 mins., B&W.

3. *Holy War*. An army doctor refuses further service in Vietnam. This film is his prayer, bespeaking the atrocities of war, disclaiming the idea of "fighting on God's side." A voice speaks over scenes of peaceful countrysides and churches, underscoring the sense of devastation and destruction to human lives and souls of which the prayer speaks. 8 mins., color. (Available from American Documentary Films, 379 Bay St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133 or from ADF, 336 West 84th St., New York, N.Y. 10024, for $15 rental fee.)

See *The War-Peace Film Guide* by Lucy Dougal for other possibilities.

Programs

Twenty-seven years...Hiroshima-Nagasaki:
At 8:15 on August 6, 1945, we could still work and sing and love. At 8:16, everything came to an end. Those of us who survived were transformed into men whose daily food is pain, whose constant company is fear. Tell everyone you know simply to use his imagination.

Fumio Nakamura

War: Cold and Nuclear
Hiroshima - Nagasaki : A Film

Purpose of Program:

To restore a "post-Hiroshima" sense of priorities. Remember? After the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki there was a genuine sense of urgency throughout the world that THESE WEAPONS MUST NEVER BE USED AGAIN! Many were led to see for the first time that there is no permanent security or defense in weapons which can destroy civilization. Many saw that war itself must be eliminated. But today, while the threat is profoundly greater, that sense of urgency has all but vanished.

Programs:
War: Cold

Nature of Program:

At a meeting of the congregation or a church sub-group (youth, men, women, etc.) *show the film "HIROSHIMA/NAGASAKI"*, 16 min., B&W, available from AFSC (see film list in "Film" section of this workbook) for $5 rental.

HIROSHIMA/NAGASAKI is a condensation of 2 hours and 40 minutes of on-the-spot filming taken by Japanese camera-men during the days immediately following the U.S. nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hitherto classified as "secret" by U.S. military authorities and banned from all public viewing, the film is unforgettable in its recording of devastation, fire, and blast, of the sufferings of men, women and children mutilated and dying of burns. The film was edited and produced by the Columbia University Press.

Discussion to follow could be based on these or other questions: What have we learned? Where are we now? What have the effects been...on us ...on our children?

Possible Following Steps:

1. Do a series of programs on nuclear war and disarmament beginning with Hiroshima/Nagasaki, followed by the suggested program on "The Age of Megaton" filmstrip and record which helps answer the question "Where are we now?".

2. Study the problem of disarmament in depth. What is the status of ABM and MIRV deployment and how does that effect for good or ill international disarmament talks? End your study with recommendations for action. Take your conclusions to your congressmen and senators.

Nagasaki
August, 1945

The following article is a reprint from the *Boston Sunday Globe*, April 5, 1970.

A copyright reprint for the Boston Sunday Globe, April 5, 1970, entitled "Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August'45 -- Not for Sensitive U.S. Eyes" was removed.

"The film's overall mood is panic: there is no way to 'prepare for' nuclear war; there is no choice but to 'prepare against' it."
from a review by Contemporary Films

Programs: War: Cold

The War Game

A Sample Film Discussion Guide

Nature of Project:

The following discussion guide is reprinted from the *War/Peace Film Guide:*

THE WAR GAME

Length: 50 min.	Contemporary Films
Rental Fee: $75	1714 Stockton St.
Grades 10 and up	San Francisco, Calif.

Peter Watkins wrote, produced and directed *The War Game* for the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1965. The BBC was so frightened by its impact that the network refused to show it and has forbidden its release to television service anywhere. It is the first film ever made on the subject of the nuclear balance of terror, the only one to confront the viewer with the results of nuclear war.

Watkins believes that the governments in Britain, the U.S., France, and the Soviet Union feel confident that the balance of nuclear power is a viable international policy. "The bomb," he says, "has been totally accepted and doesn't even figure as a political issue any more. There's a blanket of silence about it. It's not a general conspiracy. It's a consensus, and fear. Television is the most powerful, stimulating medium of public awareness. Yet in our pre-War Game research we discovered that there'd never been more than a total of 4 or 5 hours on the subject in all the years of television."

The film reveals the predictable consequences of a reliance on nuclear power for security. It may be advisable to present some of the following ideas before the film is shown and to allow an interval for recovery before starting the discussion.

Questions to start discussion:

1. Why should the BBC have banned this film? BBC has suggested that the terrible nature of the film might send the public screaming into the streets as the "War of the Worlds" broadcast did in 1938. Watkins says the BBC was really afraid that the truth about the effects of nuclear weapons would panic the public and result in a massive outcry to ban the bombs.
2. If it were available for showing on the U.S. television, would similar pressures be used to ban it? What are the responsibilities of the news media?
3. How do you think the average citizen would react to seeing it on his home screen? The range of responses may include:

- a refusal to believe that the film is based on fact.
- being so overwhelmed by the film that a sense of fatality about the whole problem is adopted.
- a feeling that, since the consequences are so dire, the weapons will never be used.

Programs: and Nuclear

These reactions allow us to go on living as before, in our own private worlds, perhaps taking on more manageable issues.

4. What kinds of action might be engaged in as a response to this film? We may feel appalled and outraged that we have allowed this to become a possibility and want to take action to prevent it. How can we?

One way is to turn in frustration on the makers of these policies and become instruments of hate and violence ourselves. OR, is there another way?--one which does not force you to give up basic values and which can answer the problems of achieving international order without war.

A question of values

There is general acceptance of the policy of nuclear deterrence. Military and defense-related spending is over one-half of our national budget. This policy stresses building and maintaining superior military strength and puts primary emphasis on "The Communist challenge."

-what are the values we are defending?
-can they be defended by threat or by use of instruments of extermination?
-can or should moral criteria be used in choosing a foreign policy?

Positive directions

There have been some steps taken toward a disarmed world under law: the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty; 1964 US/USSR Consular Convention; 1966 US/USSR Civil Air Agreement; the 1967 Outer Space Treaty prohibiting weapons of mass destruction in outer space; the 1968 Nuclear Weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty limiting the spread of nuclear weapons; the agreement on inspection to maintain a disarmed Antarctica; the opening of the SALT talks. Why has this not slowed down the arms race?

Pressures continue for making war

-Is there a built-in dynamic to the expanding weapons technology? U.S. arms budget 1960: $40 billion; U.S. 1969: $80 billion.
-Is it possible to reverse the action-reaction spiral that has taken a new jump with the construction of ABM, MIRV, Poseidon? How significant was the ABM debate?
-Is it possible to seek agreements and negotiations while at the same time continuing arms build-up?
-What are the prerequisites to *reversing* rather than limiting the arms race?

Alternatives

Critics have blamed Watkins for not presenting "a way out" in *The War Game*. He replies that the film maker's function is to arouse people. It is the discussion leader's function to build on the concern aroused.

What alternatives have been proposed?

1. Seeking nuclear arms control while maintaining military "sufficiency" (administration position)
2. Disengagement from foreign involvement and concentration on domestic problems (*Power and Impotence* by Stillman and Pfaff)
3. Unilateral American initiatives to create an international climate where agreement on general and complete disarmament under world law can be achieved. (*ABM and a World Without War*, by Robert Pickus, and *To End War*, illustrate these possibilities.

The risk inherent in disarmament pales in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race.

President John F. Kennedy

Programs: War/Cold

Alternatives to the Arms Race: A Study Seminar

Nature of Program:

Combination of filmstrip, speaker, and discussion to provide a follow-up to *The War Game* or *Hiroshima/Nagasaki*.

Show the introductory filmstrip and record *The Age of Megaton*, available from AFSC. Have a speaker to briefly suggest some themes or topics for discussion. Examples:
a) a brief discussion of the different types of disarmament and the risks and potential benefits each offers -- in terms of national and global security, or
b) an introductory session to a several-weeks-long study seminar that will explore these issues more in depth.

Such a program would be effective in any religious, civic or educational group. A study in depth would probably be most effective in an adult study group that is an already-existing sub-group of a congregation or organization.

Discussion would be focused around questions and issues raised. Is the arms race itself a cause of war? Does some form of disarmament offer a viable alternative? Discussion might also focus around the four alternative approaches to the avoidance of war that are often advocated:

- -arms control (a policy closely allied to deterrence theory)
- -multilateral disarmament by negotiated agreement
- -unilateral disarmament
- -multilateral disarmament through unilateral initiatives

Project Payoffs:

1. Stimulates participants to read and think through questions of arms and disarmament.
2. Makes the problem of arms control or abolition more "manageable."
3. Channels emotions of fatalism and disbelief into constructive paths of study and action.

Possible Following Steps:

A report could be issued by the group, stating its findings and making recommendations for policy changes. This report could be designed to circulate primarily within the congregation or community or to be presented to legislative representatives.

Programs: and Nuclear

"We prepare for war like giants -- for peace like pygmies."

Erwin A. Salk

Simulation Games and War

Summary of Project:

Use a simulation game to stimulate an active discussion on the nature of conflict and the causes of war. Or combine a simulation game with a speaker or a film, followed by a discussion.

Resources: (most are available from AFSC)

Simulation Games:

Disarmament - a simulation which involves two groups in the problems of conflict, trust and negotiation. The game generates several issues for reflection, including issues of national loyalty, use of military approaches to solving human problems, justice, reconciliation, and use of power.

The Road Game - Four territorial groups (represented on a large piece of paper) each of which is interested in drawing roads from its own area through another group's territory to the opposite edge of the paper. Moves quickly on issues such as power, cooperation, patriotism, dissent, decision-making, consensus-building, and justice.

Literature:

To End War, by Pickus and Woito, described on page 141 of the Workbook, $1.50.

An Alternative to War or Surrender, by Charles Osgood, published by University of Illinois Press, $1.45.

Hiroshima, by John Hershey, $.60.

In Place of War: An Inquiry into Nonviolent National Defense, by AFSC, $1.95.

Beyond Deterrence: A Series of Studies, by AFSC, each $.35:
- *Unintended War*, by Arthur Waskow
- *Unilateral Initiatives and Disarmament*, by Mulford Sibley
- *Does Deterrence Deter?*, by D.F. Fleming
- *Games, Strategies and Peace*, by Irving Louis Horowitz

Intervention and Revolution, by Richard J. Barnet, $3.95.

Anatomy of Anti-Communism, by AFSC, $1.50.

A nation that invests most of its public money in instruments of violence gives its citizens a powerful example in how to solve problems. Richard J. Barnet

Militarism/Priorities

Introduction

In the past few years, much was made of what could be done in rebuilding this nation with the "peace dividend," the money that was to become available for domestic use when the Vietnam war, with its massive expenditures, was over. The war has now "wound down" considerably, but it is becoming more and more apparent that the peace dividend will not materialize. It is already committed to other weapons spending. For a number of proffered reasons, defense spending will remain at a high level (around $80 billion per year).

There has nonetheless been a growing outcry for a "reordering of priorities" away from the military and toward domestic spending. Suggested defense cuts have ranged from $20 to $60 billion. Recent public opinion polls show growing public support for some kind of shift.

But it is difficult to sort out just which claims are correct. Certainly such a shift is attractive, but can we really be secure on half the military budget? Just what is "security" anyway? If we can be secure, what is at the root of what might well be called, on the basis of its gobbling of resources alone, a growing militarism in the society? And what can we as individual citizens do about it? This section of the Workbook attempts to help you come to your own answers to these questions, and to help you raise those questions effectively with others around you.

WARNING--Priorities alone may be hazardous to your internationalism.

A powerful case can be made for the shifting of priorities without ever talking about issues of foreign policy, for there are severe problems within American society to which resources ought to be applied. But such talk runs the deep risk of going another step and withdrawing completely from problems that involve other countries, focusing only on America's. That would be an extremely disastrous course for the richest nation in the world to take, on a globe marked by serious problems of poverty, hunger, and economic development. (See the section on Development). There is a very important difference between overbearing military interventionism on the one hand and concerned peace-promoting internationalism on the other, just as there is an important difference between that internationalism and a perhaps accidental, but self-centered isolationism.

Furthermore, it might be important at some point in your programs to talk about "new priorities" within foreign policy itself -- that is, arrangements that would really make possible new spending priorities -- what policies would allow us to cut most deeply from the defense budget and still maintain a rational security? Round out your priorities work with work on the foreign policy that the re-ordered budget will buy.

Programs: Priorities

we may have reached... "the day when the world must give up the traditional power game so as not to give up its life."

Raymond Aron

Become a "Communicator"

The following Manual of Action, put out by SANE, describes a particular long-range task that an individual or group of individuals could take on. In fact, if significant changes are to take place, it will probably require that a number of concerned individuals take on just such a "communicating" commitment for the long haul. Think it over.

Demilitarizing America: The Role of the Communicator A Manual for Action

I. *The Problem*

The military-industrial complex represents a massive roadblock on the path to peace and re-ordered national priorities. Secretary of Defense Laird has stated, in the same breath, that "we all understand that there are other pressing priorities for the government," but that it is "not the time to have reductions as far as the defense establishment is concerned." So he is asking for a $3 billion increase in the defense budget for 1972 -- bringing it to over $80 billion. Even as the war in Indo-China "winds down" and the SALT talks proceed, the military-industrial complex wants more money. Unless the military budget is reduced, we will not have a peace economy nor will we reorder our national priorities.

II. *The Goal*

American society must be demilitarized in order to weaken the hold of the military-industrial complex on American foreign policy and national resources. The war must be ended. Military spending and influence must be reduced and controlled by the public and its elected representatives in Congress. Resources must be transferred to activities which will enhance the quality of life in the U.S. and the world. A creative and peaceful new foreign policy must emerge. To redirect the energies and resources of our people and our country, the power of the military establishment must be reduced. Congress must reassert its power to declare (or not to declare) war and to control the public purse.

III. *The Strategy*

First, it will be necessary to change the cold war attitudes that have influenced America for the past 25 years. It is those attitudes that have led to American reliance on military power in its foreign relations. Non-military foreign policy options must be pointed out to the American public. And much education must take place.

Second, a counter-"complex" must be built to compete with the Pentagon for the tax dollar. People concerned about education, health, jobs and environment, crime, mass transit, the cities and recreation areas all have claims on the tax dollar. They must mobilize to take those tax dollars away from the military establishment. They must convince the

American public and its elected representatives that, in an age of overkill, public funds are more wisely spent on domestic priorities than on the continued militarization of America.

This manual attempts to deal mainly with this latter approach -- the mobilization of large segments of the American people in opposition to the power of the military-industrial giant and in favor of peace, progress and new priorities.

IV. *How to Proceed - The First Steps*

Locate Common Interest - What groups in your community need federal funds (or *more* federal funds) for domestic priorities? What are their chances of getting them in the present situation? Do they know what they're up against? Have they made the connection between the size of the military budget and the difficulty of getting adequate federal (or local) funding? These are the groups that must be mobilized. The name of the game is *working alliances*.

Begin to relate to a Single Group - Specific groups should be contacted on the need to demilitarize America. This is the role of the SANE Communicator: to single out one group and to relate to it. This may be done by a single person or by a few individuals working together.

This approach offers the advantage of working with the same people over an extended period of time. Working relationships can be developed and utilized for the pursuit of common goals. A small group of activists can divide the work and reach a broad range of potential allies.

Groups that need to be reached include: the news media, religious groups, labor unions, businessmen, civil rights organizations, ethnic and minority groups, human needs groups, local and state officials, political parties and candidates, professional groups, students, educators, etc.

Picking a Group - Perhaps the most natural groups to which to relate are your peer groups. That is, if you are a doctor, be a communicator with doctors' organizations in your area; if you are a school teacher, communicate with the teachers' organization or the PTA; and so on. The groups that relate most closely to your own day-to-day life may be the ones that you can mobilize most effectively to oppose American militarism. (See "Influencing Influentials for Peace" for a Colorado success story.)

On the other hand, it may be more effective, in the long run, to attempt to influence a group which exercises more power in your community. For example, the news commentators have an impact on tens of thousands of people, and while you may not know labor officials or businessmen, they represent major interests which could be mobilized to oppose the

military-industrial complex.

No group is monolithic. If the first door is closed, the second and third may be open.

Approaching the Group - Try to find a contact with influence in or knowledge of the group. Ask for background on its goals, structure, leaders, etc. Find out which leaders are most likely to be sympathetic to an approach based on common interest in redirecting the tax dollar.

Next, approach the group (or a contact in the group). Show them SANE's handbill, "Do You Know What War Costs You?" Consult with them on common problems; outline what you think are common interests. Listen a lot, find out where they are and what they want. Proceed with a joint analysis along the following lines: What are your respective goals? What's the situation like now? What forces are blocking us from realizing our goals? How can we get what we want? and How can we work together to get what we both want?

It may be helpful to explore some specific action goals which give a sense of direction to your mutual efforts. Can we work together to hold local platform hearings in the Spring of 1972? Can we join forces in some form of political activity in 1972? How can we both work to cut the military budget next year?

Be prepared to answer questions about how the group's local issue relates to the federal budget, and whether "national security" can be assured with cuts in military spending.

Agree to work together. Go over the possible means that you can use together to achieve your respective goals. You can also work separately toward common goals, while maintaining a mutual understanding of overlapping interests.

Remember, cooperation is a two-way street.

V. *The Second Steps - Working Together*

1. Trade information - ask whether the SANE pie chart can be published in their publication or otherwise distributed to their members. Offer to reciprocate. Find out what other kinds of information might be welcome.

2. Trade speakers - inform each others' membership of common goals.

3. Set up debates with the people who oppose you.

4. Show relevant movies (SANE's Dialogue with Middle America kit has suggestions, and the national staff can provide you with additional sources).

5. Visit representatives of the news media together and outline your interests to them. Supply them with information supporting your position. Keep in contact with them.

6. Visit your Congressman together, either in Washington or when he comes home. Write him joint letters on behalf of a common list of needs. Organize public meetings where he can be questioned by his constituents. He'll soon feel that there's something new in his district. If a joint approach isn't possible, encourage a separate one -- as long as pressure is directed at the Congressmen who ultimately decide how your federal taxes are spent.

7. Be familiar with national materials and use them.

8. Develop your own local materials based on research into your own area. One interesting thing to do is to compare federal *tax payments* with federal *outlays* in your area. Compare the current allocation of federal funds to the cost of your community's real needs.

You can get information from the Internal Revenue Service's annual report of the Commissioner (IRS, 1111 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20224; ask for Table 1, "Collections" - no charge). It gives tax information by state and for some cities. Contact local IRS offices and see if they have local tax information. You can get information on federal outlays from the Office of Economic Opportunity's "Federal Outlays Report," which lists federal outlays by agency for each state and county within the state (available from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Va., (703) 321-85[illegible]3. Request "Federal Outlays for (name of state)" PB198-151, $3.00.)

Develop your own graphic comparisons between monies spent locally or military programs versus needed expenditures to improve the quality of life in your community.

On the other hand, find out what institutions in your community have a vested interest in a military paycheck. Which companies receive defense contracts? (Write to NARMIC, 160 North 15th St. Philadelphia, Pa. 19102). NARMIC stands for National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex and can provide you with information on defense contracting in your area. Which merchants are dependent on military bases? Do plans exist to convert these establishments to civilian use?

9. Organize town meetings sponsored jointly by as many community groups as possible, to discuss the federal budget and whether it is helping adequately to meet local needs. Invite local and state officials and your Congressman to attend. Ask your radio and TV stations to carry the entire session live. Even if this request is turned down, it should help generate at least *some* coverage.

10. Poll voters in your areas as to how they would prefer to spend their tax dollars, if they had a choice. Give them a ballot with various programs on it and ask them to allocate their tax dollar. Seek several thousand representative responses. Publicize the results.

Programs: Priorities

11. Publicize jointly-sponsored activities. Cooperation among seemingly different community groups is *news*. It doesn't happen that often, so let the press (and, through the news media, the decision-makers) know about it.

12. Explore the possibility of joining in formulation of the People's Platform, an exciting broad-based non-partisan effort to get the grass roots involved in policy-making on major issues. It is being initiated by the National Center of Urban Ethnic Affairs with the aid of many other groups. Write to Jim Wright at the Center, 702 Lawrence Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017, for additional information.

13. Keep in touch with your contact in the group and assess what you have done so far. What has been successful? What has failed? What are your plans for the future? Contact SANE to find out what techniques and ideas have been successful in other areas.

14. Be creative. Big problems require big solutions.

15. Expand your network. Find additional people to help you broaden your contacts with the group or to establish contact with another group. Tell them how you started and offer to help.

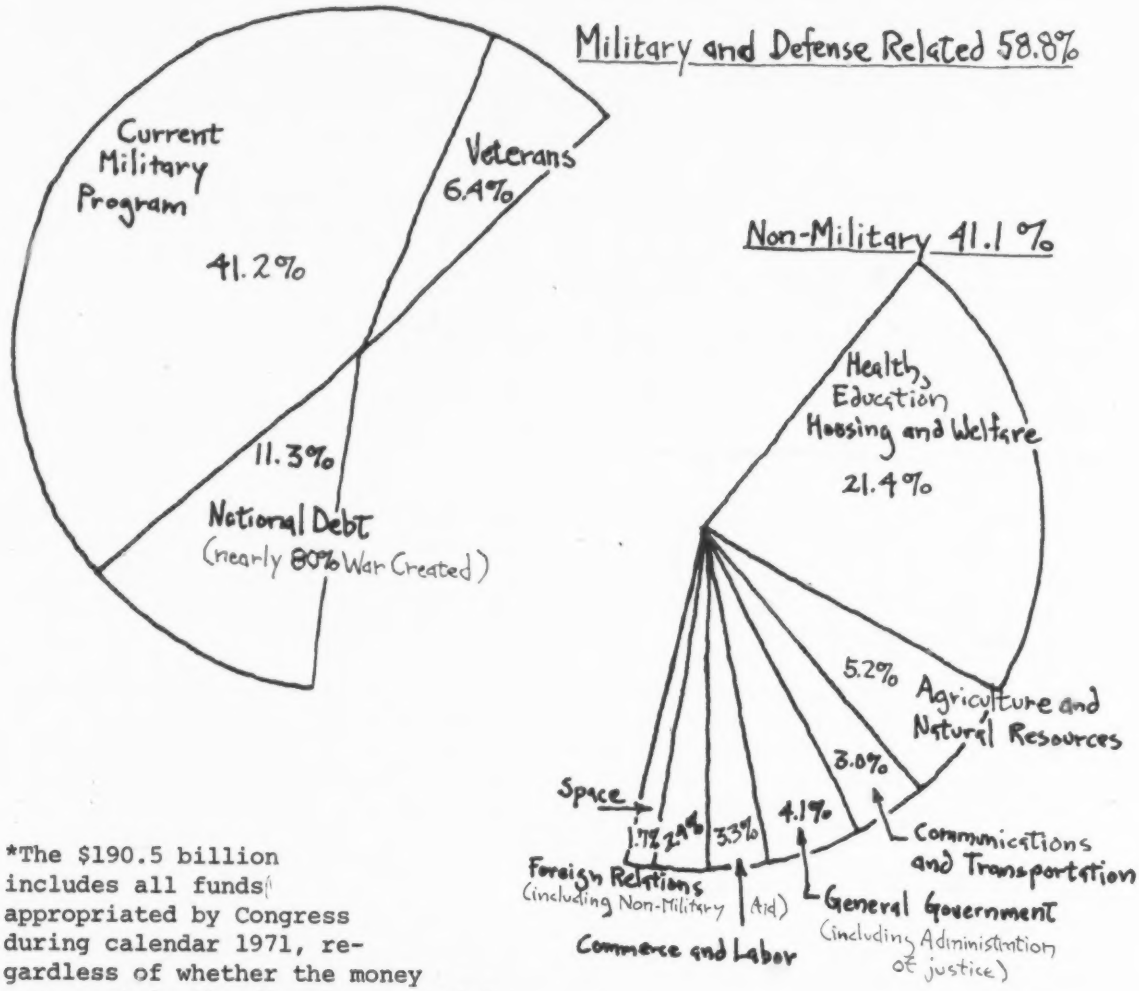
16. Always attempt to move the group you are working with one step ahead of where it is! For example, if they already are willing to accept a speaker for a membership meeting, can you convince them to co-sponsor a town meeting? If they are already willing to co-sponsor a town meeting, will they take part in a joint visit to a Congressman?

Every group or individual considering the Communicator process comes from a different background, has had different experiences and works with a different style and pace. No single formula can provide all the answers. These four pages are the beginning of an experimental process. We need feedback from you. We need to know what makes sense to you and what you see as obstacles. We need reports on your ideas and actions. Serving as a Coordinator of Communicators, we will share your experience with others.

Communicator's Credo: One joint activity a relationship doth not make (nor a chink in the military-industrial complex). A Communicator builds relationships and alliances for the long haul.

Contact: Naomi Pullman, Director of Community Action
Distributed by SANE, 318 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 Tel: (202) 546-4868

$190.5 Billion Voted by Congress in 1971*



*The $190.5 billion includes all funds appropriated by Congress during calendar 1971, regardless of whether the money was spent in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1971 or allocated to the year ending June 30, 1972. The breakdown (in millions) is as follows:

Supplementals, fiscal 1971 and 1972	$ 11,468.0†
Regular, fiscal 1972	153,702.6*
Permanent, fiscal 1972	25,357.2
Total	$190,527.8

*Includes an advance appropriation of $74.3 million for fiscal year 1973 for District of Columbia area subway construction.
†Includes a reduction of $55 million for the Transportation Dept. for Fiscal 1971 because Congress killed the Supersonic Transport (SST) in the spring of calendar 1971.

Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Programs: Priorities

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed... This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower

"Some Things you can do to encourage economic conversion from military to domestic production"

The following list comes from the Ann Arbor office of AFSC (1414 Hill Street, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104).

1. *Study the Proposed Legislation on Economic Conversion:* Send for "Economic Conversion and Related Legislation Introduced in the 92nd Congress" and a Conversion Bibliography from the Ann Arbor AFSC office. Begin now to raise the consciousness of both Houses about conversion legislation.

2. *How Defense Dependent is your Community?* Find out which defense contractors are in your area, what they produce, the size of their contracts, and how many people they employ. For sources of information, consult the "Communicator's Manual" and the bibliography in this section.

3. *Educate the Public:* Circulate information on the local military-industrial complex and the need for conversion along with proposed legislation to labor unions, chambers of commerce, human needs organizations, etc. Write to your mayor, city councilman, and state legislators, asking whether there are plans to convert local defense industries and military bases to civilian and domestic uses. Publish their responses. Contact the press. Be sure that background materials and present legislation on conversion are sent to editorial writers, columnists, and other media sources.

4. *At the Local and State Level, Find Out Whether Governmental Machinery Exists to Help Individuals, Communities, and Firms Convert:* The states of California, Connecticut and New York have studied the problem as it relates to them. Write to AFSC in Ann Arbor for a copy of the possible proposal "Providing for Conversion of the Rhode Island Economy."

5. *Organize Support for Proposed Legislation on Economic Conversion at the Federal and State Levels:* Look for allies and get them working together. Many organizations and individuals suffer directly or indirectly because of the militarization of our economy. Bring them together. Form a coalition of interest in demilitarizing America, locally and nationally. Contact the *Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy,* 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. (Tel.: 202-546-7000) for current information on conversion legislation, background material on the conversion process, and already existing groups in your area promoting conversion and new priorities.

Willie Sutton, the notorious bank-robber of the '50's, when asked why he robbed banks, replied, "Because that's where the money is!"

Town Meetings on National Priorities and Military Policy

Nature of Project:

"Town Meetings" are conducted to assess the need for, and develop support for, a massive transfer of resources from the military to help meet domestic civilian needs. Since 1970, when similar meetings were held nation-wide, numerous groups have used the "town meeting" idea as a means of reaching a broader audience than would normally be attentive to an anti-war discussion. Many people with little interest in foreign affairs, but much interest in some local problem, are led, perhaps for the first time, to see a relationship between their unmet need and unwarranted and excessive military spending.

Town Meetings can be sponsored by a coalition of local organizations or, in modified form, by a single organization. They should be viewed as public hearings for and by voters and taxpayers, and have a "grass-roots" flavor. Members of Congress should be invited to listen to the testimony and to pose questions to the witnesses, but should not sponsor or manage the meeting.

The Format:

1. A chairman, a panel of distinguished local leaders, community witnesses to present testimony, and an audience.
2. There should be a presentation based on careful research which answers the following questions:
   - How much income tax have the residents of your city paid to the Federal Government in the last tax year?
   - How much of this went to finance military activities?
   - How much was returned to the community: In social programs? In defense contracts? for highways? etc.
3. Then community witnesses present brief speeches on the unmet needs of your city in housing, health, education, transportation, pollution control, sanitation, recreation, etc.
4. Conflicting viewpoints should be sought.

Payoffs:

1. Improved relations between groups and individuals who present testimony.
2. A specific shopping list of human needs is created in each community which could be the basis of further work.

Further information:

Valuable and voluminous material on conducting a "Town Meeting" is available from:

The Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy
100 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Programs: Priorities

It happens that defense is a field in which I have had varied experience over a lifetime, and if I have learned anything, it is that there is no way in which a country can satisfy the craving for absolute security--but it can easily bankrupt itself, morally and economically, in attempting to reach that illusory goal through arms alone. The Military Establishment, not productive of itself, necessarily must feed on the energy, productivity, and brainpower of the country, and if it takes too much, our total strength declines.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Organizations

To help you in your own decisions about matters of national priorities and the military-industrial complex, we have listed below some of the major groups working in the field, and some of the best resources for use in your own thinking or programming. Most of the groups would be happy to send you more information about their operations and about how you can help out, and they welcome new members and/or contributions.

Groups:

SANE, A Citizens' Organization for a Sane World, Inc.
318 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. (202) 546-4868 or 546-2283

A long-established organization now focussing its major efforts of lobbying and publicity and community work on the priorities question. Much of the work it urges members to do is to be a "communicator" with a specific target group -- that is, to work at the grass-roots level for more awareness and more demand for change. Its Manual for Action, describing the role of the communicator, appears in this section of the Workbook. An excellent source for leaflets, films, and other information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)
1738 Pine Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Among its many activities, WILPF is doing some work on priorities, including the publication of a leaflet "What a Billion Will Buy at Home."

Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. (202) 543-1151

An umbrella organization of over 20 concerned groups. They have sponsored several "town meetings on national priorities" in the past as

well as a number of high-level panels and consultations. Their publication *Citizens Hearing on an Alternate Defense Budget* is available from them, or may be obtained as part of the "Alternatives to the MIC" packet listed below under resources.

NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex)
160 N. 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. (215) 563-9372

Set up by the American Friends Service Committee, NARMIC keeps extensive files on Defense-related research and production contracts, and is happy to share this with local groups trying to do work on the MIC in their own area. Perhaps the place for factual information on defense contracts.

Council on Economic Priorities
1028 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C. (202) 466-2250

Like NARMIC, a source of well-researched information on defense contracts and contractors, CEP also issues reports on other aspects of the priorities question, such as pollution. (See its book listed under Resources below.)

Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 2nd Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

A Quaker lobbying effort concerned with a wide range of issues, FCNL has been a widely respected source of reliable information on matters of legislation and the budget, much of it related in their monthly newsletter (it's excellent!). Available from FCNL is a list of the 100 Biggest Pentagon Contractors.

United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan

The UAW has been in the forefront of the priorities campaign, with a primary focus on plans for orderly conversion of defense industries to peacetime use.

Resources: Films

The Selling of the Pentagon

Color, 52 mins. The well-known CBS documentary of the multimillion dollar public relations industry maintained by the United States armed forces to persuade civilians and Congress of the armed forces' policies, of the legitimacy of its budget requests, and of its political views. Available from the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, or from Mass Media Ministries, 2116 N. Charles, Baltimore, for $25. rental.

Programs: Priorities Overkill Overrun

B&W, 25 mins. A film of a discussion between Seymour Melman, author of *Pentagon Capitalism* and *Our Depleted Society*, and Ernest Fitzgerald, the former Pentagon staffer who blew the whistle on the cost overruns on the C-5A, and was fired for his pains. Available from SANE.

You Don't Have to Buy War, Mrs. Smith

B&W, 30 mins. A film of a speech by Bess Myerson Grant, New York City Commissioner of Consumer Affairs, in which she reveals the "bombs and botulism" the military has stored in backyards all over America. She names many familiar manufacturers of household goods as makers of these Pentagon projects. A very effective film for almost any audience. Produced by Another Mother for Peace, from whom a Consumer Action Kit is also available. Available from AFSC (along with a limited number of kits) for $15 rental.

Who Invited Us?

B&W, 60 mins. A controversial NET documentary which reviews the history of the United States' military intervention beginning with the take-over of the Philippines and continuing through the Vietnam war. Examines theories about reasons why (economic motivation, capitalism *vs* socialism) and the role of the CIA. Available from the Pratt Library.

Defense vs. Domestic Needs: Contest for Tomorrow

B&W, 77 mins. A dispassionate study of the Military-Industrial Complex which focusses on defense industries, political campaigns and defense decision-making, the power of lobbyists and certain major organizations like the American Legion. Statistics about military budgets and the economic significance of defense-related spending prompt serious thinking about national priorities. Available from American Documentary Films, 336 W. 84th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024, for $50 rental.

Resources: Literature

The Economy of Death, by Richard J. Barnet, $2.95. The best single introduction to the whole subject, pointing out that the public needs to question more than just "the accidental waste of bad management;" we should also question the "inherent waste of the national-security system itself."

Pentagon Capitalism, by Seymour Melman, $2.95.

Our Depleted Society, by Seymour Melman, $2.25.
These two Melman books are probably the definitive works on the changes wrought in our social and political and economic life by the growth of the military-industrial state management.

Pentagon Watchers: Students Report on the National Security State, ed. by Leonard Rodberg and Derek Shearer, $1.95. Student research on the warfare state, how it grew, how it operates, its costs and dangers.

Pentagonism: A Substitute for Imperialism, by Juan Bosch, $1.25. The former president of the Dominican Republic argues that U.S. capitalism has over-developed so that it needs interventionism to maintain the profits of its war industry.

An Alternative Future for America II, by Robert Theobald, $2.00. A wide-ranging presentation of the changes that could and must be made in American society.

Weapons for Counterinsurgency: Chemical/Biological, Anti-Personnel, Incendiary, by NARMIC, $1.00. Styled a "local action/research guide", this book presents a wealth of data on the kinds of wars that America is preparing to fight and the kinds of weapons that are being or will be used.

National Urban Coalition Counterbudget: A Blueprint for Changing National Priorities 1971-1976, ed. by Robert S. Benson and Harold Wolman, $2.95. A comprehensive plan for dealing with America's domestic problems and cutting defense spending (even though its suggested defense cuts are relatively moderate).

Efficiency in Death: The Manufacturers of Anti-Personnel Weapons, by the Council on Economic Priorities, $1.50. A data book on the defense contracts of major American industries.

Defense and Disarmament: The Economics of Transition, ed. by Roger E. Bolton, $1.95. A collection of essays on the problems of conversion. Contributors range from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

Alternatives to the Military-Industrial Complex: A Packet, by AFSC, $.45. A helpful kit of materials on the MIC and conversion. Includes the useful study by the United Auto Workers entitled "Swords Into Plowshares: A Proposal to Promote Orderly Conversion from Defense to Civilian Production", and articles by Seymour Melman, James L. Clayton, Jeremy J. Stone, as well as the report of the Citizens' Hearing on an Alternative Defense Budget.

Programs: Priorities

The New American Militarism, by Gen. David M. Shoup, $10. One of the most important accounts of the nature and dangers of the security state, by a former Marine Commandant.

SANE leaflets. SANE in Washington (see Groups) has a number of short leaflets suitable for handing out or including in a mailing that tell the story of military spending in a graphic way. "Do You Know What War Costs You?" is the most popular one. A pie chart depicts the 60% of the budget that goes for war, and the back of the leaflet shows how many schools and hospitals could be built with the money for a bomber, a machine gun, and other military hardware. A similar leaflet bears a photo of Pres. Eisenhower beside his famous "Cross of Iron" quote ("Every gun, a theft..."). Contact SANE for these leaflets and reprints of significant articles on militarism and defense spending.

Further Resources

SANE's Manual for Action, "Demilitarizing America: the Role of the Communicator," reproduced in full in this section, indicates several sources for more technical information on your local area, information that would be useful in the planning of a local campaign. (For a more extensive listing of Congressional Committee hearings, government documents, and other books and articles useful in the research for such a campaign, write to AFSC, 1414 Hill Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, asking for their "Conversion Bibliography". They also have available a number of other materials on conversion.)

The Defense program has become a permanent and massive part of our culture. The sheer magnitude and complexity of its logistics often appear to be and sometimes are overwhelming. In such a situation it is all too easy to begin to surrender faithfulness to the gospel without realizing it. The church and its chaplains must be keenly sensitive to the erosion, exploitation, or softening of its witness. The church needs to be courageous enough to resist any such encroachment and, if necessary, must not hesitate to exercise the right of withdrawal from such a system to establish such other approaches as it may devise.

- The United Presbyterian report on the military chaplaincy, issued May 1965.

The Military Chaplaincy: Conflict of Church and State?

Background:

The issue of whether or not to "demilitarize" the chaplaincy to the armed forces has recently been raised in various religious circles.

There are questions about what the role of the Church should be in ministering to men and women in the armed forces; for example:

How does a chaplain proclaim a prophetic gospel when he is wearing the uniform of the military, is paid by the state, and furthermore is dependent upon his superior officers for advancement?

What "image" of a military chaplain do most GI's have: a view of him as moral leader and comforter--or a view of him as a cheer-leader and morale booster?

Does a military uniform inhibit a chaplain from "speaking truth to power?"

Is the presence of a minister in the uniform of the armed forces an implicit approval of warfare in general and the Indochina War in particular?

Who takes responsibility in your denomination for the training of military chaplains for their specialized ministry--the Church or the military?

Programs: Chaplaincy

We recommend that national and other religious bodies immediately create study commissions to devise a place and time schedule for the implementation as soon as possible of the following goal: the creation of civilian forms of ministry to all persons in the U.S. Armed Forces community in place of the current military chaplaincy.

Ecumenical Witness,
Kansas City, January 1972

Debate on the Chaplaincy

Should the present system of the military chaplains be transformed into a civilian ministry to men in the armed forces?

Panel members might include: an active duty chaplain, an active duty GI or a recent veteran (perhaps a member of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War), a denominational representative familiar with your denomination's present system of military chaplaincy, a university sociologist, etc.

Project Payoffs:

1. It raises issues and educates church members on this key area of interaction between the life of the church and the life of the military.

2. It builds a base of understanding for further dialogue within your denomination.

Creation of Civilian Forms of Ministry

1) Encourage your local church and your denominational regional and national organizations to encourage the creation of civilian forms of ministry to men and women in the armed forces.

Urge your denomination to reassess its present methods of ministering to military personnel.

First, inform yourself. Then raise the issue to denominational leaders--preferably with the support of various groups (women's groups, peace fellowships, social concerns agencies, etc.) within the church.

Ask your local denominational newsletter to carry an article on the military chaplaincy, containing interviews with chaplains and GI's of your denomination from military installations in your area.

Introduce a resolution for the establishment of a study panel on the military chaplaincy into the annual convention of your regional denominational structure. Petition the national convention for a similar resolution.

Programs: The Military Chaplaincy

Objective 2 (concerning the Ministry of the Church). To establish a task force on ministries to military personnel to include military personnel, young adults, chaplains, representatives of local churches, campus ministries, Instrumentality representatives.
-adopted by the Eighth General Synod, United Church of Christ, June 1971

2) Give financial support to pilot programs of civilian ministry to men and women in the armed forces.

One such program is under consideration now for ministering to military personnel in South Carolina. For further information contact Coalition for a Demilitarized Chaplaincy (address below).

Resources:

Harvey G. Cox, Jr., ed., *MILITARY CHAPLAINS: From a Religious Ministry to a Military Religion*, 1971.

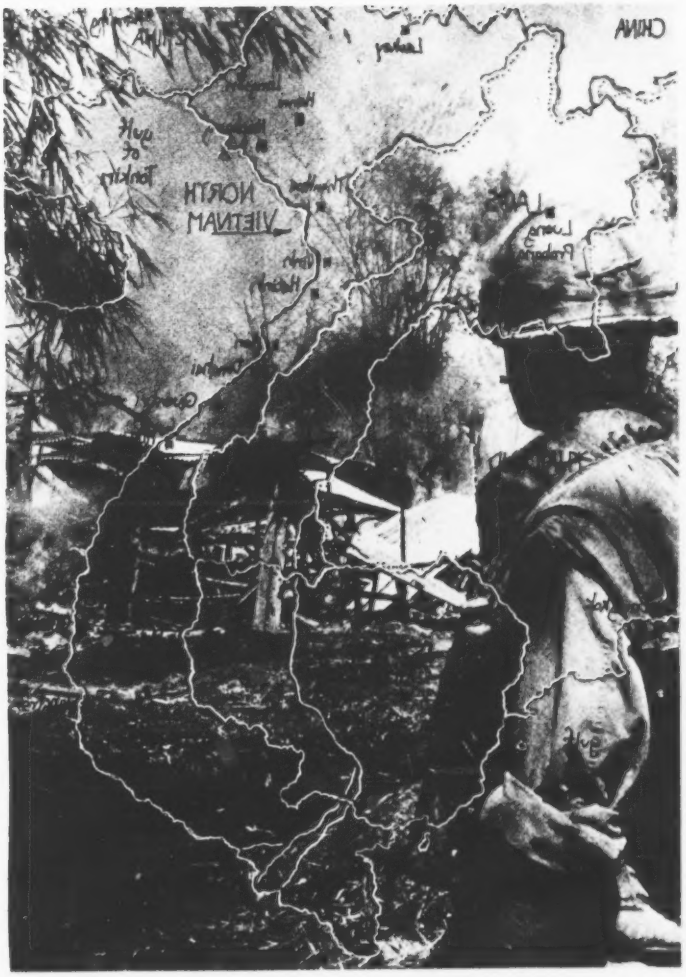
William J. Hughes, "A Chaplain's Dilemma About Vietnam," *Christian Advocate*, September 30, 1971.

A. Ray Appelquist (ed.), *Church, State and Chaplaincy: Essays and Statements on the American Chaplaincy System*, 1969.

for additional information contact the:

Coalition for a De-militarized Chaplaincy
300 Ninth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Programs:
Crisis Area: Indochina



Our way of life is a grand tour de force whose main purpose is to avoid responsibility and maintain at least the appearance of innocence.

Albert Camus

Crisis Area: Indochina

Once Upona War: A Film

Nature of Project:

This film, which movingly describes the work of the AFSC's Quaker Rehabilitation Center in Quang Ngai, Vietnam, is an excellent way to raise the question of the *human cost* of this war...and the cost of all war...on the Vietnamese people. It is often disconcerting for an American audience to discover that the overwhelming majority, though by no means all, of the civilian casualties, and the patients of the Quang Ngai Center are victims of American artillery and bombing (80% according to the Kennedy Sub-Committee on Refugees). While it does not deal at length with the political and military side of the conflict, it does bring home the continuing reality of the suffering, and in this case, healing, of a war-weary people.

Available from AFSC for $5. rental. Not recommended for children.

Suggested Questions for Discussion:

Who is responsible? The U.S., the NLF, North Vietnamese, South Vietnamese? How do you determine responsibility?

"Responsibility" sometimes refers to being the "cause," being to "blame," but it also has to do with *response*. What should our response be as Christians? Jews? Americans?

What can be done to end the war? Why does the killing continue?

When the war ends, what responsibility do Americans have to participate in the reconstruction of Vietnam? North and South?

Programs: Indochina

We are rich in things and poor in soul. Let us fast in the service of our souls and give the small riches we save to feed the hungry here at home and in Vietnam who have been forced to fast too long.

Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr.

Vietnam Rice and Tea Dinner

Nature of Project:

A meal of rice and tea symbolic of the subsistence diet of the Vietnamese. A way to demonstrate our moral concern for the victims of war and our commitment to end the destruction and suffering caused by war.

Money collected (either from the sale of "tickets" or from a meal-time collection), money that would normally be spent on meals, would be sent instead to aid the victims of war. Money can be sent to your church or synagogue's Vietnam Relief program or to the AFSC for its Quaker Service - Vietnam Work.

Suggested Agenda:

An evening, dinner-time meeting, sponsored by a whole congregation or sub-group with invitations to others.

The Rice and Tea Dinner

The record, *The Cry of Vietnam*, can be borrowed from AFSC or purchased from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York, 10960. This record has music appropriate for a rice and tea dinner.

A Film **Once Upon a War**

The Third Vietnam

Color slides, magnetic tape, 40 mins. Slides and commentary by an AFSC worker in Vietnam. Attempts to present a feeling for the Vietnamese culture and people and describes what the war is doing to Vietnam. Rental $1.00.

Remember Vietnam

Color filmstrip, 33 1/3 record, 23 mins. leader's guide. Based on their experience in Vietnam, two International Voluntary Service members describe Vietnamese life and the suffering that the war is causing and raise penetrating questions about U.S. policy. Rental $1.00. May be purchased for $5.00 from Service Dept., United Methodist Church, 100 Maryland Ave., Washington, D.C.

A Discussion or Short Readings

A packet of materials is available from AFSC for this purpose. Included are first-hand accounts of the work around it. Excerpts would make dramatic reading. Also available is poetry by the Venerable Thich Nhat Hanh.

A Period of Silent Meditation

Ending the War in Indochina

How does a war end? There are few who speak with much certainty about this these days! It is excruciatingly difficult. As those who play the *Road Game*, a simulation game described in this Workbook, discover, it's far easier to start conflict than it is to stop it. It is one thing to want an end to a war and quite another thing to achieve it. And yet, the course our government takes in the coming year may affect decisively the future of Vietnam and all of IndoChina for the next few years. But what policy will work? Should we continue "Vietnamization," withdrawing our combat troops while building up the Saigon government forces, and supplying "protective air power"? Should we set a date for complete withdrawal of *all* U.S. military forces? Should we initiate a cease-fire and press for a political settlement in Paris? Or should we urge other policies?

Resources Available: A Resource Kit on Vietnam Peace Proposals.

Prepared by Community Peace Action Program of the New York Metropolitan Office of the AFSC, it describes "Six Alternative Proposals for Ending the War". These include the official proposals of the delegations to the Paris Talks, and that of the "unofficial" Buddhists who claim to speak for a majority of Vietnamese who favor neither side. In addition, there are three proposals from the AFSC, the National Student Association's "Peace Treaty", and an election cease-fire proposal from Negotiation Now!. (Copies available from AFSC, 15¢ each.) Included are some suggested "criteria" for deciding which proposal offers the best route to peace, and some recommended "action suggestions".

There is another book that does much to explain our seeming inability to agree on a way to end the war: *Vietnam and the Silent Majority*, by Milton Rosenberg, Sidney Verba, Philip Converse, and Ralph K. White. It is a provocative and often surprising look at public opinion polls on Vietnam over the past six years and an attempt to determine what actually influenced Middle American attitudes on the war. Their difficult conclusions warrant serious attention. A majority of Americans oppose the war in Vietnam, but an even greater majority harbor negative feelings about war protestors. This has been showing up in the polls since 1968. We must work to understand this *seeming* inconsistency and learn to communicate in new ways with people who are today inhibited about expressing their anti-war views. (Available from AFSC, for $1.25.)

Programs: Indochina

Specific Program Suggestions

How it worked at the Interfaith Center in Columbia, Maryland

Using the Resource Kit on Vietnam Peace Proposals (nearly everyone present bought a copy) as a basic resource, the audience/participants heard three panelists recently returned from an on-the-spot look at the Paris Peace Talks. They discussed the dilemmas present in the talks and the prospects for meaningful progress ("dim"). They answered questions about the proposals being put forth by the various official and unofficial delegations and gave candid personal evaluations of their chances of working. Following the discussion, everyone had an opportunity to visit *information centers*, several tables with background literature on each of the six proposals for ending the war. As most of the literature was free, or at little cost, each participant could take a sampling of information arguing for each position. Everyone was especially encouraged to concentrate on at least one position they knew little about.

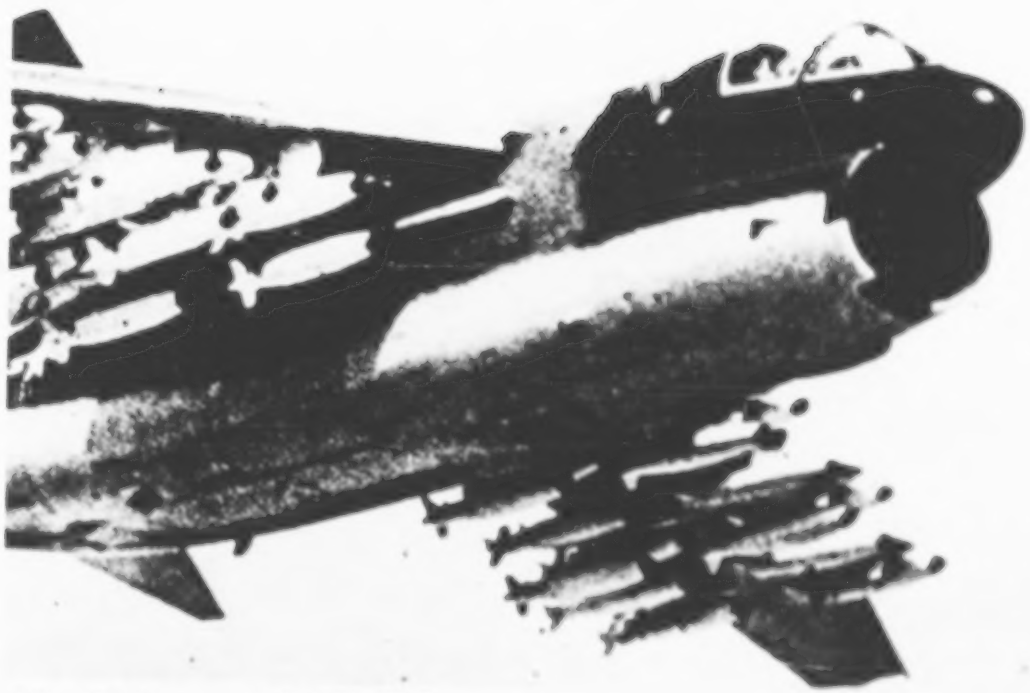
8 Flags for 99¢

Show this 30-minute film, then lead a discussion based on the RESOURCE KIT or your reading of *Vietnam and the Silent Majority*. *8 Flags* is a new documentary exploring the "silent majority's" attitudes toward the war in Vietnam and other national issues. The strength of this excellent documentary film lies in the way it brings out the complexity of the people interviewed--independence of thought, innate distrust of the government, anger over the continuing war in Vietnam and its battlefield casualties, and honest concern over the gap that separates the government from the people. Color, 1970, available from Business Executives Move, 901 N. Howard, Baltimore, or call 539-7900 for a most reasonable rental fee.

Role Playing

Ask six individuals to do extra reading on one of the proposals in the RESOURCE KIT, coming to the meeting prepared to represent or "argue the case" for that particular approach to end the war. You can state at the outset that the presentors are not necessarily giving their own views. After a panel discussion, roles can be dropped and a general discussion can take place.

Program:
Crisis Area: Indochina



The Automated Air War

An Important New Documentary, consisting of 140 slides that run for approximately 30 minutes, developed by NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex).

One result of the American war on the Indochinese is a whole new system of war technology called the *Automated Battlefield*. It's a way to fight wars without having to draft Americans, or to convince folks back home that the war is just, or, for that matter, even having to tell them much about what is going on.

Two years ago General William Westmoreland described the "battlefield of the future" in which "enemy forces will be located, tracked and targeted almost instantaneously through the use of data-links, computer-assisted intelligence evaluation, and automated fire-control." The parts of this future battlefield have been tested in the military's "Igloo White" program -- known to us at home as the bombing of the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" in Vietnam and Laos. About $3 billion has been spent on the Automated Battlefield.

In Indochina, the war goes on. Reductions in manpower only hide technological escalation. The significance of war by ever-improving sophisticated machines must be communicated to the public at home.

For information about using or purchasing this striking slide presentation, contact your nearest AFSC office or write to NARMIC, 160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Programs:

Crisis Areas: Middle East
Pakistan and Bangla Desh
Latin America
China
Ireland
Africa
Others: continuing and future

In Depth Study:

Organize educational seminars to become aware of the issues involved and realities evident. After these seminars, the group as a unit or the group as representative of an organization may wish to issue a statement of consensus to the local media, national media, and/or to the parties involved in the crisis.

Relief:

There are many organizations organizing development programs and conducting relief programs for refugees and victims of natural and man-made disasters. Your community group, synagogue or church could sponsor a drive for contributions of capital, clothing, food and other supplies. Find out what is most needed in the area you are concentrating on and work in close cooperation with an organization which is already involved in the area and is aware of its needs; blankets are not the greatest requisite in tropical areas nor are internal combustion engines useful where there is not an adequate fuel supply.

Resources on Crisis Areas:

The American Friends Service Committee has some resources but it is only a small fraction of the total and we recommend bipartisan research on your part. See the *Resources* section of the *Workbook* for information on how to find speakers and films.

Middle East:

Search for Peace in the Middle East, by AFSC. Attempts to outline the necessary conditions for and steps toward peace, based on beliefs that the rights and interests of neither party can be preserved without recognition of the rights of the other. $.75.

Israel and the Arabs, by Maxime Rodinson. A distinguished French Middle East scholar and Marxist traces the course of Zionism and examines the changing ambitions and interrelations of the Arab nations. $1.75.

The Art of the Possible: Diplomatic Alternatives to the Middle East, by Michael Reisman. An up to date account of attempts to solve the Middle East Crisis and a presentation of the alternatives now open. $1.95.

To Make War or Make Peace in the Middle East, Selections from an International Symposium held in Israel in 1969. Important in presenting a range of non-establishment Israeli views. $.45.

Pakistan and Bangla Desh:

Crisis in Pakistan: A Community Peace Action Resource Kit prepared by the N.Y. office of the AFSC providing valuable and time-less background to the recent war there. Also discussion of the problem of nonviolence and the difficulty of giving non-partial relief during war time. $.15.

The United States and India and Pakistan, by W. Norman Brown, Harvard University Press, 1963, and *India and Pakistan, A Political Analysis,* by Hugh Tinker, Praeger, 1968, are both major background books offering authoritative and readable information on the history of Pakistan, relations between the two wings and contacts with the United States and India.

Latin America:

Cuba Ten Years After: A Quaker Visit to the Revolution, by an AFSC Team. First-hand report on the problems and successes of the alternate society which Cuba is struggling to create. $.75.

The Great Fear in Latin America, by John Gerassi. Dramatic, documented look at U.S. economic and military influence from the point of view of Latin Americans. $1.50.

China:

U.S. China Policy: A Fresh Start. A statement of the Board of Directors of AFSC calling for recognition of the People's Republic and major change in U.S. policy. 1971. $.50.

Red China Today, by Edgar Snow. Reputed to be one of the most informative books on Red China printed in the English language. Revised and updated edition. 750 pages covering nearly every aspect of modern China. $3.45.

China: The Convulsive Society, by Michael Oksenberg. Examines the Cultural Revolution in the context of China's history and beliefs and its implications for U.S. policy. $1.00.

Programs: Crisis Areas

Organizations:

American National Red Cross
17th and D Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

CARE
660 First Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Catholic Relief Services
350 Fifth Avenue, Suite 6515
New York, N.Y.

Church World Service
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y.

Community Development Foundation/
Save the Children Federation, Inc.
Boston Post Road
Norwalk, Conn.

International Rescue Committee, Inc.
386 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y.

Peace Corps
Washington, D.C.

American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
1717 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Development...is for each and all the transition from less human conditions to those which are more human. Development is the new name for peace.
Pope Paul VI *On The Development of People*

Programs: Development

Development
A long range goal, an immediate concern

The noted historian, Arnold Toynbee, has described ours as "the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind has dared to believe it is practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race." Development is the term used to express that process.

Development means progress toward the achievement of economic, social and political conditions under which all can enjoy a reasonable standard of living and each individual will have the opportunity to reach his highest potential for human growth and well-being. Development is the essential path to peace and justice.

There is a wide variety of programs dealing with development that a church or community group could undertake. The following section of the Workbook describes some of these.

Resources:

Introductory Pamphlets, Packets:

Young World Development Issue Packet: Hunger and Development, American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, $1.50.

Population and Development Packet, AFFHF, $1.00.

Development is the Name, an excellent packet on development prepared by the Division of World Justice and Peace of the United States Catholic Conference.

Invest Yourself: A Catalogue of Service Opportunities, $.50.

Books:

World Development: An Introductory Reader, The Macmillan Co., $1.95.

The Lopsided World, by Barbara Ward, $1.25.

Introduction to Development: Bridge to Peace, AFFHF. $1.00.

Films:

A Guide to Films about Development, AFFHF, $1.50.

The Journey of Fabio Pacchioni, 28 mins. On how to motivate a small community to resist injustice and help itself. Filmed in Ecuador. Outstanding.

The Food Crisis, B&W, 60 mins. Produced by National Educational Television in conjunction with United Nations Television. Rental $12, Indiana University A-V Center, Bloomington, Ind. This film contrasts the areas of the world where there is an abundance of food with the areas hit by starvation.

Hunger in Maryland, available from the Maryland Food Committee, Inc. 105 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md.

Programs:
Development
Walk For Development Program

Nature of Project:

The article reprinted from *War/Peace Report* tells the story of this amazingly successful project begun by and for young people. It has perhaps done more than any single thing to focus public attention, including that of opinion leaders and policy makers, on the complex, often undramatic, but critically important issue of world development.

On The Peace Front

Mobilizing 'Feet for Food' (reprinted from *War/Peace Report*)

"Walking for development," a program to raise funds for the hungry that has been gradually spreading around the world, is now expanding to the United States.

Over 120,000 Americans have "walked for development" in the last year and a half, earning more than $800,000 for various programs. The American Freedom From Hunger Foundation initiated the "Walk for Development" program in the U.S. in 1968 as part of an older, worldwide movement of Young World Development, an affiliate of the Food and Agricultural Or anization.

Successful walks have gained millions of dollars for development in West Germany, Zambia, the Philippines, Britain (the first country to have a walk) and Canada, whose most successful walk program earned over $4 million. The movement is still spreading, both in the U.S. and around the world...

The purpose of the walks is two-fold: first, to acquire money for development in all areas of the world, and, equally important, to give young people a sense of personal involvement in world problems and their solutions. Said a spokesman of the Freedom From Hunger Foundation: "Today's social problems will not be solved, regardless of the amount of money available, until there is a real changing of attitudes and a reassessment of national priorities."

Young World Development supplies advice on arranging walks all over the world, but the actual organization for them is done on a local level. In the U.S. the Foundation offers guidance, but the solicitation of sponsors, collection of money and choice of beneficiaries is the responsibility of the walk committee.

Each walker gets individuals and/or business concerns to invest in his feet--a certain amount of money per mile. The route is generally about 30 miles long and walkers must pass several check points along the way for proof of distance covered. The money earned in the U.S. is divided equally between domestic and overseas self-help projects, with 42 1/2 per cent going to a domestic project of the group's own choosing, 42 1/2 per cent to an overseas activity, and 15 per cent to the Foundation to expand the walk program.

Leonard C. Wolf, executive director of the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, has expressed great satisfaction with the program, which has spread through 16 states. In a letter to President Nixon he described the effect the program has had at the community level: "When the walk program began, it was looked upon as a 'youth' activity. We now recognize it as far more. It has become, in the hands of dynamic youth leadership, a catalyst for community concern and involvement at all ages, and all economic and social levels."

Headquarters for the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation are 1717 H Street, N.W., Suite 437, Washington, D.C. 20006. F.A.O. headquarters are at Via delle Terme di Caracalla-00100, Rome, Italy.

Project Payoffs:

1. *It raises funds for needed work.* It's a concrete way for members of a church or community to tie-into important "pilot" work at home and abroad.

2. More importantly, it educates people to greater *action* to alleviate hunger and malnutrition...to focus on the *whole problem* in search of *whole solutions.*

3. *It involves both youth and adults* in a common effort.

4. Because "hunger" is relatively non-controversial (until you try to do something about it), this is an excellent way to involve a broad spectrum of the community in a project that can change attitudes and ideas.

Programs: Development

The enormous wealth, the unbridled luxury, of the privileged few stand in violent, offensive contrast to the utter poverty of the vast majority.

Pope John XXIII

Secretary-General Thant warns us that the efforts made are still inadequate to achieve "living standards in the less developed countries compatible with minimum human dignity... We cannot accept the conclusion that the eradication of poverty is politically unfeasible.... I firmly believe that what man must do to prevail, he can do."

How to live on a Hundred Dollars a Year

Nature of Project:

This program is a simple, but quite effective technique for conveying the idea of just what it means to live on from $50 to $200 per year. See the description of "How to Live on $100 a Year" on the next page. This program is designed to inform or to intensify support for development within a particular congregation or organization.

How to Live on a Hundred Dollars a Year could be presented as a series of related displays, discussions, sermons, or in-depth studies within a congregation or organization. The time scale involved could vary from a week to a month.

You might:

1. Design a display in a local congregation, at a library, in a shopping mall, etc., on the theme of "How to Live on $100 a Year." This could be composed of posters, quotes and pictures.

2. Organize discussions and programs in the various sub-groups of the congregation--youth, women's organizations, etc. Tie these in with the theme of $100 a Year, but indicate also that there are positive actions that can be taken to alleviate such hunger and poverty.

Possible discussion themes:

a. world development and world disarmament
b. population and food: interlocking problems
c. can you "blame" the poor for their poverty?
d. can development be accomplished without revolution?

3. Invite speakers from developing countries.

How to Live on a Hundred Dollars a Year In Twelve Easy Stages

In connection with the United Nations Development Decade, the Canadian Journal, *The U.N. in Action*, offered the following graphic commentary on the disparity between life in the rich and poor nations:

In his book, *The Great Ascent*, the well-known writer, Robert L. Heilbronner uses a simple but most effective technique for conveying the idea of just waht it means to live on from $50 to $200 per year. He starts with a typical Canadian-American family, with an income of $6,000-$7,000 per year, in a small suburban home. Then he refashions this home, and the life of its inhabitants, into a typical scene in the vast "under-$200" areas of the world.

1. Take out the furniture, except a few old blankets, a kitchen table and one chair.

2. Take away all the clothing, except for the oldest dress or suit for each member of the family, and a shirt or blouse. Leave one pair of shoes for the head of the family.

3. Empty the pantry and refrigerator except of a small bag of flour, some sugar and salt, a few moldy potatoes for tonight's dinner, a handful of onions and a dish of dried beans.

4. Dismantle the bathroom, shut off the water, remove the electric wiring.

5. Take away the house itself, and move the family into a toolshed.

6. Remove all the other houses in the neighborhood, and set up in this place a shanty-town.

7. Cancel all subscriptions to newspapers, magazines and book clubs. This is no great loss, as our family is now illiterate.

8. Leave one small radio for the whole shanty-town.

9. Move the nearest clinic or hospital 10 miles away and put a midwife in charge instead of a doctor.

10. Throw out the bankbooks, stock certificates, pension plans and insurance policies, and leave the family a cash hoard of $5.

11. Give the head of the family 3 tenant acres to cultivate. On this he can raise $300 in cash crops, of which one-third will go to the landlord and one-tenth to the local money lender.

12. Lop off 25 to 30 years in life expectancy.

THIS IS WHAT THE DEVELOPMENT DECADE IS ALL ABOUT

Reprinted from FAO magazine *FREEDOM FROM HUNGER*, July-August 1965 by
THE COMMITTEE FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT AND WORLD DISARMAMENT
218 East 18th Street, New York, N.Y.

Programs: Development

It was estimated in 1966 that 70% of the age-group 1-6 in the developing countries were suffering from severe protein-calorie deficiency, which impairs growth and development, sometimes irretrievably.

Hunger Awareness Activities

Nature of Project:

A. *Hunger Banquet.*
For this well-publicized "feast," everyone is actually served rice and tea, but they're not told of this until they arrive.

B. *Feast of Nations.*

This is a meal situation, good for workshops in which each person represents a country, assigned to him by lottery. The poor nations are seated alternately with the rich ones. For at least two consecutive meals the developed nations receive full course meals while the underdeveloped countries are served only rice and tea. "International relationships" soon become quite interesting.

Possible Following Steps:

1. Influence upcoming legislation concerning financial and food contributions through bilateral and multilateral aid programs.

2. Study the relationship of world development to world disarmament. On this subject, see the information published by the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, some of which is available from AFSC.

3. Seek within the structure of your local or national Church to raise or channel aid for use overseas. This can be done either through normal aid channels or in special crisis situations--for example, aid given to East Pakistani refugees and to Biafrans.

4. Show a film like *The Journey of Fabio Pacchioni* or sponsor a simulation game like *Baldicer* to spark a good discussion.

5. Plan a worship service around the theme "Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread," to bring development into perspective as a religious concern.

Project Payoffs:

1. This program will help broaden the issue of development from hunger to the realization that poverty, squalor, disease, ignorance and exploitation combine to form that giant trap called "underdevelopment."

2. It is an excellent means of personalizing a distant concern.

Programs: Development

A message from the American Freedom From

Over two thirds of the world is poor, and poverty knows no national boundary. While thousands of people suffer from malnutrition in India, there exist people in your community who live in substandard housing and with inadequate diets.

We cannot ignore poor people either entirely or selectively. We must help all poor -- American, Asian, African, and Latin American. The world is becoming so small, so economically interdependent, that pain and hunger in one part of the globe hurts our whole planet. This hurt might take the form of riots, wars and other disasters between the haves and have-nots.

As you read this you are probably saying, "So what can one insignificant person like myself do about these immense problems?" What is at stake in seeking solutions to these problems is changing people's attitudes from selfcenteredness to a concern for their fellow man. One cannot play the numbers games when such a basic and vital goal is being sought. One cannot easily say that if 1,000 or even 1,000,000 people begin to care then the world's problems will be solved. The only realistic perspective is that if one person commits himself today to work for development, to improving the quality of life for the poor people of the world, that's one more person than there was yesterday.

In other words, working to change people's attitudes is a slow process, not like instant coffee or TV dinners or other miracles that modern technology has brought. This type of commitment may be frustrating because hunger and development are not fad issues. People will not rush to join the band wagon because many people's closed minds will not let them see past their own special interests.

If you are concerned enough to make a personal commitment, you will find listed below some actions that you can take as an individual to combat hunger and aid development. There are many more.

Third World-one percent '3W1'

For many years there has been a sentiment among those concerned about development that the rich nations should contribute 1% of their Gross National Product to help the poor nations develop. No nation does this at present. The United States gives about .3%, among the lowest donors of the 16 Development Assistance Countries. Part of this aid is for military assistance, which is of questionable value for the development process. Finally a campaign has been started in the rich nations to encourage individual citizens to contribute each year 1% of their annual income for an overseas development project to symbolize their belief in helping the poor nations. You, as an individual, can participate in 3W1 and encourage friends and relatives to do likewise. Your donation cah be channeled through the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation in order that you can get a tax deduction.

Programs: Development

Hunger Foundation: Young World Development

Walk for Development

When a Walk for Development occurs in your community, you can walk and/or sponsor someone else, thereby helping to raise money for anti-hunger, self-help projects locally and abroad and at the same time help contribute to creating a community awareness about the hunger problem.

Self-education

The importance of knowledge cannot be underestimated. Before you can effectively work for change, you must know something about the issues involved. Being inspired to learn through a personal commitment to a special goal is much more rewarding than simply learning through the normal structures. Often normal educational processes do not even begin to delve into the issues of development and poverty. Newspapers, periodicals, and libraries are full of information. Personal talks with social workers and other persons in direct contact with the problem are extremely enlightening. Also YWD will be glad to help you locate relevant educational materials.

Family planning

Almost every one of us will someday be in the position to decide what the size of our family will be. Just because we are well off economically does not mean that we cannot contribute to the world's population problem. In fact being wealthier than the rest of the world, we can consume more resources, food and material than other people, thereby depriving them of their needs.

It's not what you give,
It's what you share.
The Gift without the giver
Is bare.

Programs: Development

School Partnership Program

Purpose: To assist a community in a developing country to build their school.

Nature of Project:

The School Partnership Program (SPP) offers students around the country the opportunity to become partners with less fortunate students overseas in worthwhile *self-help* projects. Established in 1965 by Congress, as a field support unit for the Peace Corps in the area of school construction, the program has expanded its scope of activity to embrace a number of community projects in addition to schools--like drilling wells and providing hurricane relief.

Since SPP's inception, over 1600 schools and community buildings have been built in more than 50 countries with money raised by U.S. students. The local people realize that education is the one area that influences all others in the growth of a country and its people.

Project Payoffs:

SPP offers three main advantages to youth who want to help their own age group in a self-perpetuating way, and on a person-to-person basis:

1. SPP funds earmarked for building materials go directly to the project, with nothing subtracted for a middleman's services.

2. SPP projects yield visible, tangible results in a short time; a Peace Corps evaluator is on the scene to keep contributors informed of progress, and in touch by letters and photos with those who benefit.

3. School Partnership is *not* charity; it is helping one's neighbor to help himself. The villagers must pay part of the cost; they furnish the land, pay for teachers, supplies, and school operating costs. In this way, the funds which originate in the U.S. are allocated to pay for construction materials only.

4. The cultural exchange which follows the establishment of the partnership after the fund raising drive is an important aspect of SPP. Participants are strongly encouraged to correspond with overseas partners. In this manner the partnerships become not only joint efforts in building community facilities, but also mutual attempts to further human understanding.

For further information, call the APSC or contact:

School Partnership Program
Peace Corps
Washington, D.C.

Programs: Development

The most challenging, pervasive and explosive idea of the twentieth century is that poverty can be wiped off the face of the earth.

Paul Hoffman

An In-Depth Study of Development

Why study development? To learn how to meet the challenge presented by the complex problems and unprecedented opportunities of our times.

To learn how to avoid the violence and suffering that inevitably accompany failure to solve problems that reach serious crisis proportions.

To learn how to achieve the benefits and reach the goals that scientific and technological progress now make possible for the first time in human history.

Why should a church group, a youth group, or a community organization study the problems of development? Because these groups can bring about the kind of grass roots public understanding and support that is essential for the success of any development program. Such study can stimulate action to solve problems at the community level where all progress in human relationships must begin. It can make an invaluable contribution toward the elimination of poverty and deprivation at home and toward peace and progress in the world.

Nature of Project:

1. Initiate a Development Study Group within your congregation or community. Plan to meet regularly for a specified period of time. Divide your time between reading, analysis and discussion, and recommendations for action.

2. Report the results of the study to your congregation or community group, along with recommendations for action.

3. Send articles or reports of your work to denominational magazines and newsletters.

The exploitation of impoverished people is not a necessity for the American economy but only a cruel convenience... Our role in the world does not have to be determined by cost accountants.

Michael Harrington

Influencing Legislation

Nature of Project:

Become politically active on development issues. Investigate, write authorities, sign petitions, etc., concerning welfare programs or foreign aid and trade bills.

Find out about upcoming legislation in the field of development.

Political action must be preceded by careful examination of the issues involved. It is most effective when a religious or community group can act as a body; thus, it is a follow-up to an educational and survey program within a particular organization. For only out of education and discussion can come the consensus and wisdom required for effective political action.

Sources of Information:

The American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
1717 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 2nd Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

The Age of Nations is past. The task before us now, if we would not perish, is to build the earth.

Teilhard de Chardin

Transnational Actions: What are they?

Much attention has been focussed on the need for nations and governments to join in common efforts to keep the peace, eliminate disease and poverty, etc., through organizations like the United Nations, but little attention has been focussed on the explosion of *transnational* action taking place world-wide which does not depend on governments and nation-states as such. Myriads of "international" professional and learned societies, religious and service organizations, sports and hobby enthusiasts, have created world-wide working contacts which weave ever tighter the fabric of world community.

The church and synagogue are part of one of the best-developed transnational movements in the world today. World-wide religious gatherings like the World Council of Churches, the recent Vatican Council II, the World Conference for Religion on Peace, and the International Emergency Conference on Soviet Jewry are all examples of transnational efforts in which people with a common concern reach across and beyond national boundaries to meet, not as Americans, or Swiss, or Japanese, but as Christians and Jews with a loyalty that transcends narrow nationalism.

Transnational movements are exciting to those who participate in them, but how can participation be broadened to include and involve many more than the few who are chosen as delegates to international meetings and conferences? What are some concrete ways members of a local church or synagogue can take part in work that reaches across national boundaries and which strengthens the fabric of world community?

Transnational Projects to consider in your congregation:

The projects described in the pages following represent only a few of many efforts underway around the world. Your own religious and community organizations may already sponsor good projects which you and your congregation might join. Some require small numbers of dedicated people willing to work over a longer span of time (Amnesty International), while others involve large numbers of people over a short span of time (Hunger and Development Walks).

The following is reprinted from an "Occasional Paper on the Church and Conflict," No. 4 entitled "Where the Peace Action Is" by Arthur Waskow, published by the General Division of Parish Education, Board of Christian Education, the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

Programs:
Transnational

IV. *Transnational Action*

Fourth, a growing number of people have opportunities for transnational action. The term "transnational" does not mean government-to government action, which is "international." Nor does it mean "the whole people to the whole people," in fuzzy communication. Transnational action involves groups of people across national boundaries, whether through permanent organizations or *ad hoc* movements. The building of an "international" labor movement was in fact a transnational action. The building of a student movement across national boundaries is a transnational action, when done by the students themselves. (Two such movements of the last generation looked as if they were transnational. One was in fact clearly international--the eastern bloc's International Union of Students, which was clearly sponsored and dictated to by a set of governments; and the other, the International Student Conference, which people thought was transnational and created by the student movements themselves, turned out after all to have been founded by several national governments and dominated by one of them--our own, through the CIA).

The churches are perhaps the best-developed transnational organizations, as weak as they are in standing up to national governments. World Council of Churches reactions and the efforts of Pope Paul concerning the war in Vietnam indicate the potential for transnational organizations to stand outside any given nation and to resist in part some of its foreign policy behavior. The transnational role of the church could be a great deal stronger than it is. For example, a world Protestant-Catholic commission could be established to examine the justice of warfare in Vietnam. Its report could have enormous weight. Or a transnational group of clergymen could physically intervene against the bombing of North Vietnam. Or the illegal Quaker efforts to send medical supplies to Hanoi could be taken up by many churches, and the laws of most governments against aiding "the enemy" in such ways could be broken by the churches until it was firmly established that the commitment to mankind transcends even war.

A related kind of transnational peace action would be to establish a free-lance academy of peace keepers who are trained to combine the functions of policeman, conciliator, and developer.[10]

Under certain circumstances, the alumni could be directed by the general board of this academy to act in an international crisis, even if the United Nations or other international organizations were unprepared for that. Hopefully, independent peace keepers would get into trouble and the trouble would press the world community to decide how to exert control over the emergence of a cadre of peace keepers. Given the present lack of consensus about world law and institutions, and the probability that any world laws adopted by the powerful nations in the next generation will be unjust to the poor nations, the most hopeful interim peace-

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[10] Waskow, "The Education of Peacemakers," *Saturday Review* (August 12, 1967).

Programs:
Actions

keeping goal is international competition by nonmilitary means, checked and moderated by the growing power of transnational institutions.

Transnational action is the longest range, the least likely to bring about immediate change, less likely even than community organization intended to transform American society. Yet transnational action offers the longest range major hope that not only this particular war or that particular war, but all war, can be abolished. Transnational action challenges the pretentious sovereignty of national governments, so that they no longer command every loyalty of most of their people. If it comes to a head-on clash between one's loyalty to an organization that inspires professional or religious commitment and the command of one's territorial national government, members of transnational organizations are more likely to opt out of the situation than to obey automatically their national government. That is one of the most important possible ingredients--not the only one by any means--of a changing world that just can not carry on the war system.

CONCLUSION

The four modes of peace action outlined above do not exhaust the possibilities for people worried about world peace. There are many avenues for peace education in communities and through voluntary national associations. At this stage, each concerned person must assess where to put his limited energy. Peace education should have action outcomes, rather than breeding more discussion. Education, then, is an instrument of action preparatory to new action.

...with every true friendship we build more firmly the foundations on which the peace of the whole world rests. Thought by thought and act by act, with every breath we build the kingdom of nonviolence that is the true home of the spirit of man.

M. K. Gandhi

Hospitality Programs for Travelers/Visitors/Youth from Abroad

Baltimore Council for International Visitors (BCIV)
International Christian Youth Exchange
Servas

There are of course many more, including American Field Service, Crossroads Africa, Experiment in International Living and many smaller programs sponsored by individual denominations...don't be limited by the three we describe in this Workbook!

Nature of Projects:

They all use the same phrases to describe their reason for being: "develop a wider world," "grow in understanding," "build world peace, goodwill, and understanding," "more personal contacts," etc. They differ in the amount of time required and the kind of travelers/hosts they seek.

Baltimore Council for International Visitors, for example, serves a steady stream of visitors from abroad with a fantastic variety of interests and needs. Some are here for a year or more, others for only a day. BCIV tries to make the best match of visitor and host, and usually the request is for dinner and an evening of conversation with an American family (though frequently long-term friendships develop).

International Christian Youth Exchange involves young people from abroad staying with a family for one year. The host family is selected by a *local sponsoring committee* made up of interested persons in your congregation or community. Unlike the BCIV and SERVAS approaches, ICYE can easily begin as a project of a whole congregation or cluster of churches.

Servas is an international cooperative system of both hosts and travelers committed to peace-building. Travelers usually stay two nights with a host and share in the life of the home and community. It is not for "tourists" per se, but for people who are deeply involved in social and international concerns. Many peace activists throughout the world are part of the *Servas* network.

Programs: Actions

Project Payoffs:

1. *Sets a climate.* Recruiting individual and family participation through announcements, bulletins, and posters would alert members to opportunities available and emphasize the importance your church or synagogue places on building goodwill and understanding of other people and cultures.

2. *It's tangible.* Whether the whole congregation participates, as in the ICYE program, or only a family or two, the experience is concrete and not easily forgotten. Hosts can be asked to report to the congregation on their experience, thereby encouraging others to participate.

3. *Builds commitment.* Host families benefit from a "wider world." Because they know "first-hand" the problems faced in other countries, they often are more ready to initiate and take responsibility for work to change the world!

Resources Available:

Baltimore Council for International Visitors
301 N. Charles Street
Baltimore, Md.
Tel.: 727-1749

International Christian Youth Exchange
475 Riverside Drive, Room 1908
New York, N.Y.

U.S. Servas Committee, Inc.
Y.M.C.A. McBurney Branch
215 West 23rd Street
New York, N.Y.

the best of Baltimore

for better

WORLD UNDERSTANDING

A short story of personal diplomacy

Amnesty International

Nature of Project:

Amnesty International was founded in England in 1961 to help "prisoners of conscience," persons imprisoned all over the world for conscientious religious, ethical, or political acts or beliefs that did not involve the commission or advocacy of violence. Today, Amnesty has branches in over twenty-five countries and more than 15,000 individual members. Since 1961, at least 2500 of the prisoners for whom it has interceded have been released.

The organization has no political bias, and conservatives and liberals alike are active supporters. It differs from other human rights organizations in its focus, which is upon assisting individuals, and in its method, which is to have the membership do much of the work. Members write letters to governments, correspond with prisoners and their families, visit embassies and consulates, plant stories in newspapers, send parcels to prisoners, and in general use their own initiative, under the general supervision of the London and New York offices, to help the prisoners.

How it works: A local amnesty group is formed (the number of members in each group varies greatly), and is assigned three "prisoners of conscience" in three different countries, one communist, one anti-communist, and one non-aligned according to AI custom. The support group works for amnesty for each prisoner until that person is freed.

Project Payoffs:

1. *It serves free men everywhere,* if only by affording expression to their conscience and concern for the human rights of all men in every country. It offers "prisoners of conscience" the reassurance that they are remembered members of mankind.

2. It would give real *focus* to the efforts of a small group rather than spread energies in too many directions.

3. It raises questions related to conscience and religious and political freedom in a most concrete and real way. Real growth of understanding in a congregation could result.

Resources:

Generous assistance in forming a group can be obtained from the U.S. affiliate of Amnesty International:

Amnesty International
200 West 72nd Street
New York, N.Y.

Ask for a copy of their provocative working-newsletter *Amnesty Action,* which describes in detail cases being worked upon and the results of cases closed, news of local groups, etc.

Programs: Actions

Like Development Walks, a real way to bridge the generation gap!

Mundialization or World Community Movement

Nature of Project:

Mundialization is a dynamic educational effort which takes the truth of "Spaceship Earth" seriously. It can help turn world public opinion away from a tribalistic view of mankind which sees national sovereignty as sacred, towards a global view of mankind which accepts a yielding of national sovereignty in several fields, but especially in the field of war prevention. In short, this educational effort aims to extend man's allegiance to the world community and to the various organizations which have to be strengthened and created if we are to have a livable world.

Mundialization in its original form, a "world city" declaration, began in Japan and Europe during the 1950's. Since that time it has come to mean more (see below). Over half of the Japanese people now live in mundialized communities, with enthusiasm beginning to build rapidly in Canada and the United States.

While the original idea involved "cities" and "communities," the idea has been used to make "world universities," and could just as easily be used by a local church or religious organization. In fact, such a beginning in a local congregation might lead to the larger effort of involving the broader community in a more ambitious campaign.

The "mundialization" idea is simply as described in the *Mundialization Handbook:*

1. The word *mundialization* comes from the Latin word *mundus* which means world.

2. In political terms it is a decision made by citizens through their local government (city, town or village) to pass a law which will state that:

   a. The local government declares its city to be a "world city"--a fragment of world territory linked to the community of man and wishing to live in peace with other local communities under a world system of enforceable world law.

   b. The local government, as part of its mundialization law, demonstrates its support for the idea by doing three things:

      (1) Flying the United Nations flag daily beside the national flag at City Hall.

      (2) "Twinning" with another mundialized city in another country, thus forming a sister city bond with another "world city".

      (3) Supporting the United Nations financially by contributing .01% of its tax levies to the United Nations' Special Account. This contribution can be obtained either through a vote of the annual city budget, or voluntary subscription (an annual tag day).

Programs: Transactional

Project Payoffs:

1. It's a small, but positive way for people to get into some difficult, but critical issues.

2. Flying the UN flag has the same psychological significance as flying the National flag. It does serve to remind those who see it each day that there is a world beyond our Nation, a world of which we are as much a part as we are a part of our Nation. It becomes more than a one-shot ceremonial activity, but goes far to create and sustain an atmosphere in which our responsibility to all mankind is encouraged.

3. It's a creative idea and one which can easily involve larger numbers of people in the decision-making and follow-through. For a local church, some could search for an appropriate "twin" church in another country. Religious school children could trade their art work with others in their "twin" church and display it in the narthex or religious school rooms. Pictures and tapes can be exchanged. Church papers and bulletins mailed each week to be displayed on a bulletin board. Perhaps visitors could come from the "twin" city or church.

A Mundialization ceremony could take place drawing on the creative energies and resources of your own congregation and community. Perhaps it would have the same impact as that of Ottawa, the capital of Canada, when it held its ceremony:

Mundialization Ceremony on Monday,
August 24, at 7:30 p.m.

The Master of Ceremonies on this occasion will be Ottawa Controller, Lorie Greenberg. Norman Cousins will speak, Mayor Kenneth Fogarty will read the mundialization proclamation and Mr. Tokuyasu Fukuda, a Japanese member of the Diet and President of the World Council, will present a Charter to the Mayors of mundialized cities in Canada. All Congress delegates will be invited to join the Ottawa Dutch choir in the singing of the Hymn, "Parliament of Man" as the Boy Scouts of Canada raise the U.N. flag. Coffee will be served in the City Hall.

Resources:

Materials are readily available from: World Federalists, USA, 2029 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. , or from the World Association of World Federalists, 46 Elgin Street, Suite #39, Ottawa, 4, Ontario, Canada.

The Mundialization Handbook is a must. The World Federalists in your area would also be glad to help you get underway, perhaps with speakers who have had first-hand experience in other cities. Don't be afraid to ask for help. They exist to give it.

There are 20 fairly popular reasons for getting rid of the United Nations. And only one for keeping it. World War III.

The UN has been a dismal success. The only war it has stopped is World War III.

United Nations Day, October 24th

Nature of Project:

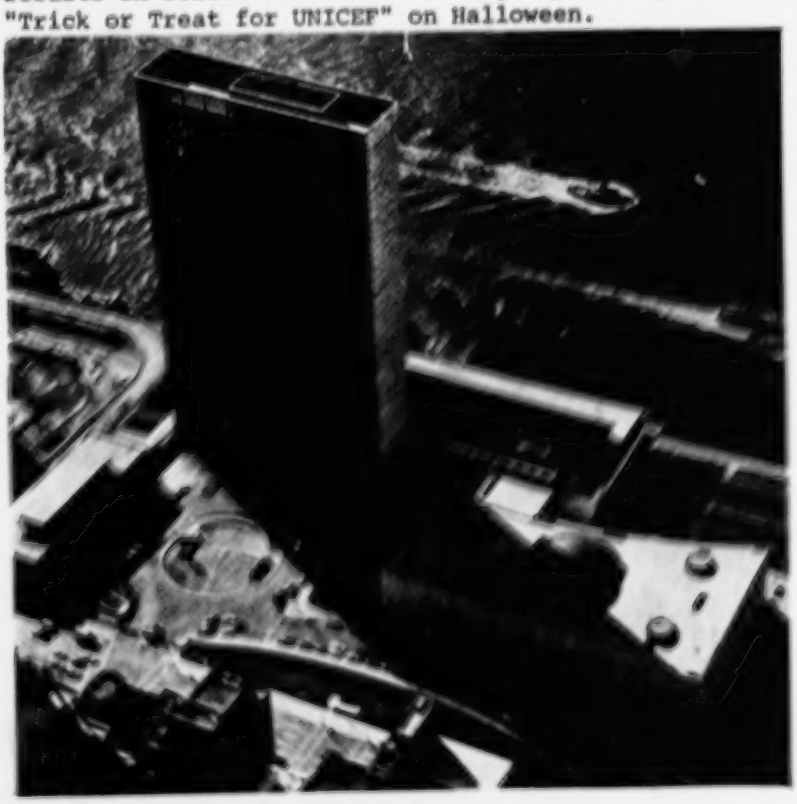
Last year there were UN Day observances in some 1500 communities under the leadership of a National UN Day Chairman appointed by the President. A local church could support one of these community efforts, or if there is none planned in your area, you could be the stimulus for an observance.

Observe UN Day in your congregation by:

A specially designed worship service focussed on the hope for world peace which the UN represents.

An adult discussion/forum that takes a hard look at both the successes and failures of the UN with an aim to strengthen and improve it in the '70's.

Planning a special assembly in the church school. Play the "Road Game" (see section on *Simulation Games* in this Workbook) and discuss the results in relation to the UN. Begin planning for a major emphasis on "Trick or Treat for UNICEF" on Halloween.



"Mundializing" your church on the 24th. Ask your congregation to declare itself a "world church" or "world synagogue" by flying the UN flag along with the U.S. flag in the sanctuary if that is your custom, or in the rooms of the religious school.

Project Payoffs:

First and foremost, it helps establish a *climate* in a community or church which emphasizes the inter-dependency of the family of man. We are not only "Americans." We are also "world citizens," members of a "Global Village" with a common destiny. Children (and adults) in such a setting are encouraged to identify with the needs and aspirations of all men.

Resources:

Specific ideas for UN Day Observances and related materials can be obtained from your local chapter of the United Nations Association, or from:

United Nations Association of the USA, 833 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y.

UN We Believe, 33 43rd Street, New York, N.Y.

United World Federalists, 2029 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Influencing National Policy

Influencing

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National Policy

The penalty that good men pay for not being interested in politics is to be governed by epople worse than themselves.

Plato

Introduction

You, as a concerned citizen should seek to influence decisions which affect your daily life.

On a complex issue, letters from constituents can often be the deciding factor in a national leader's vote.

Those citizens who do take the time to register their opinion exert a disproportionate amount of influence--simply because the vast majority of citizens are either apathetic or indifferent.

Send for this *ESSENTIAL RESOURCE*:

A guide to political action including a Congressional Directory for the current session of Congress.

Includes:

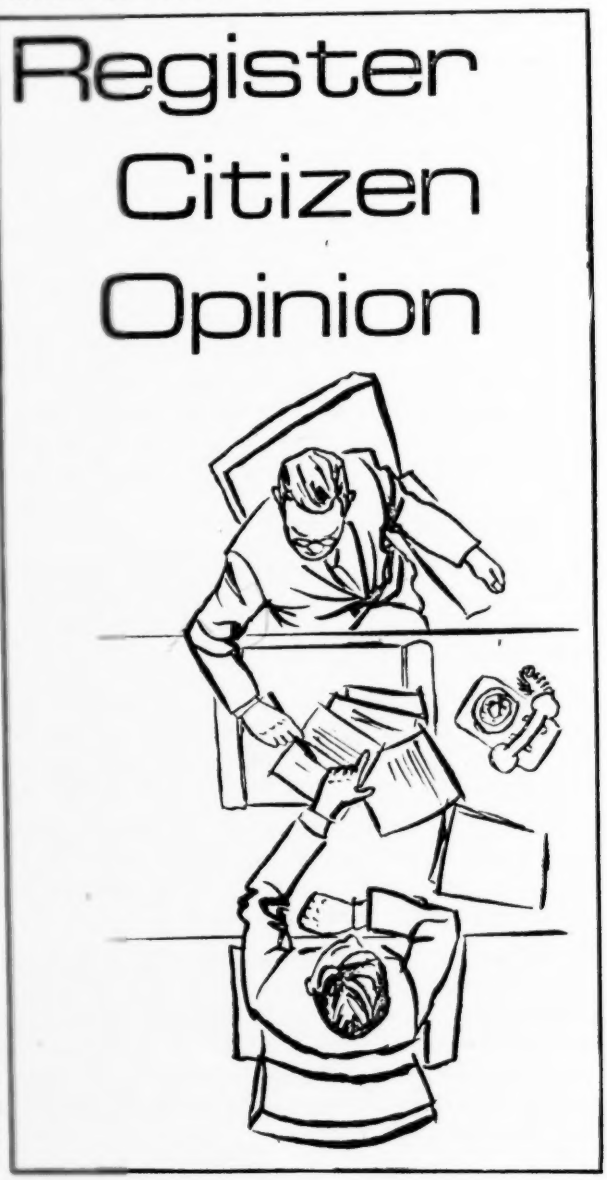
Members of the Cabinet
Correct Forms of Address
Congressional Party Leaders
Religions in the Congress
Listing of House and Senate Committees
Additional Resources for Political Education and Action.

Available from:

Board of Christian Social Concerns of the United Methodist Church
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

(The following page, taken directly from *Register Citizen Opinion*, indicates what a valuable resource this booklet is.)

Single copy	$ .25
10 copies	1.50
100 copies	12.00
1000 copies	100.00



Register Your Opinion with your National Representatives

Face-to-face or indirect communication?

The best way to express an opinion to a Member of Congress or an Administration official is in a face-to-face encounter. Perhaps you, individually or in a group, could arrange to see your representative when he visits his home district. If you are visiting Washington, be sure to write or phone in advance for an appointment.

When an issue has become extremely important, you may want to phone your Congressman. Most citizens use the telegram and personal letter as the most common means of communicating with public officials. Western Union Personal Opinion Messages allow you to send fifteen words to the President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives for the nominal fee of $1.20, and these messages are delivered within 24 hours.

Remember that on many issues, even vital matters, Washington offices often receive very little mail. Thus those who express their opinions magnify their influence.

Timing your influence

If you expect to significantly influence legislation and policies, you should properly time your communications. Obviously *you must register citizen opinion before decisions are made.*

Write about a measure in which you are interested when it is introduced into Congress and assigned to respective House and Senate committees. Another strategic time to contact your legislator is after a committee reports out a bill and before the House and Senate vote.

Deciding whom to contact

The nature of the issue should determine the person to receive your communication. If you are concerned about international policies -- not embodied in legislation -- send your messages to the President and his Secretary of State.

On such international legislation as foreign aid or ratification of a treaty however, your letter would ordinarily go to the appropriate committee of Congress. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs deal with most measures of foreign policy.

Sending your communication to the chairman of the committee handling a bill will often be most effective. But don't ignore the chairman of certain key sub-committees of Congress; the whole committee often gives quick approval to their reports.

Above all, don't overlook the greatest opportunity for influence -- regular correspondence with your own Congressman and Senators. Note the committees on which your Representative and Senators serve in order to determine where your influence will be most effective. National leaders have at least one thing in common -- they want to be re-elected. Thus every representative is especially responsive to communications from his own constituents.

National Policy

How to Visit Your Congressman

Making the appointment:

It is best to write in advance, telling your Congressman when you will be in Washington and asking for an appointment. Give him alternatives.

The Address:

Senator _____
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Representative_____
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

The best hours to see your Congressman are usually before he goes to a Committee meeting at 10:00 a.m. or in the late afternoon, after the session has concluded. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are the least likely times for interviews. During the closing days of a session, Members of both Houses are extremely busy and it is very difficult to see them. Some are in town even when Congress is not in session.

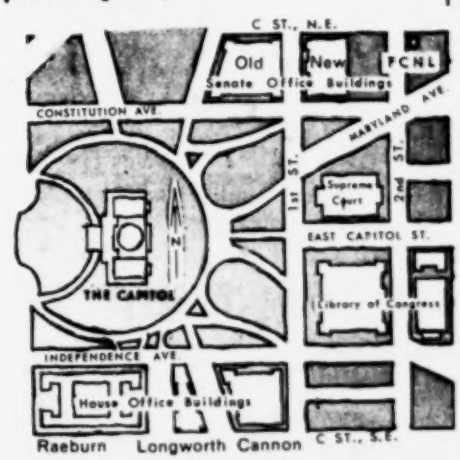
When you arrive in Washington, telephone the member's office, at CApitol 4-3121, to confirm your appointment, or make it, if necessary.

General conversation is a good opener in an interview, but let your Congressman know soon that you want to discuss specific ideas or legislation. Don't attempt to deal with more than two or three subjects. Be on time, be positive, constructive and friendly. State your views clearly and concisely. Congressmen are interested to know what other people back home are thinking. Speak with conviction: *Suggest specific action.* If possible, leave the Senator or Representative with some written material that summarizes your position.

If the Senator or Representative is not available, *talk to his assistant.*

While in Washington, try to visit The Gallery and an open Committee Hearing (listed in *The Washington Post).*

Source: FCNL
Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C.



Many Members maintain offices in their State or District. The field representatives are often in almost daily contact with the Washington office and can pass on information to the Senator or Representative. You can arrange for an appointment through it or write Washington and arrange for a meeting next time he is home.

In an interview at home you may wish to bring a representative of other community groups and create a broadly based citizen's group. You may also wish to invite the Member to speak to your church, school, organization or club on a subject of specific concern.

How to Write a Letter to the Editor

If possible, use a typewriter. Double space the lines and use only one side of the paper. Otherwise, write neatly with ink.

Express your thoughts as clearly and concisely as possible.

Deal with only one topic in a letter.

Plan carefully your first sentence.

If you write to criticize, begin with appreciation, agreement or praise.

Avoid violent language.

Help supply the truth that may otherwise be slanted.

Don't hesitate to use a relevant personal experience to illustrate a point.

Consider the ethics involved and speak with conviction.

Send it to more than one newspaper, perhaps with alterations.

Always sign your name and give your address.

Don't be discouraged if your letter is not printed immediately or at all. Continue to express your opinion.

How to Write Your Congressman and President

Spell names correctly, write legibly.

Address the President:	President _____ The White House, Washington, D.C. Dear President _____:
Senators:	Senator _____ Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Dear Senator _____:
Representatives:	Representative _____ House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Dear M . _____:

Be as brief as possible.

Begin with a commendation, where possible, for a vote or speech.

Come to the Point quickly, clearly and concisely.

Give reasons for your stand in your own words.

Raise questions.

Write about only one subject.

Make your letter timely.

Ask to be put on the mailing list for his newsletter.

Source: Friends Committee on National Legislation.

War/Peace Issues: 1972-73

Arms Control and Disarmament

Military Foreign Aid: Congress must decide whether to support the Administration's request for military aid grants to developing nations and whether to authorize sales of military equipment to these countries. Controversial programs include arms shipments to Israel, Pakistan and Greece.

Reduction of Strategic Weapons: The U.S. can decide whether to appropriate additional funds for development of an ABM system, a MIRV system, and a B-1 bomber system or whether instead to press for agreements with other nuclear powers to preclude further arms races.

Military and Defense Budgets: Congress must determine how much money will be appropriated for military purposes during the present fiscal year as well as additional supplementary requests for the Vietnam conflict.

Manpower Requirements - The U.S. must decide whether to substantially reduce American forces in Europe (NATO troops) as has been proposed and whether to trim the total number of U.S. forces both overseas and at home.

Economic Impact of Reductions in Defense Spending - Both Congress and the Administration will have to decide whether to designate now how to use funds which might be released by cuts in defense spending, occurring as a result of progress on arms control or disarmament measures or from an end to the war in Vietnam.

International Law and International Institutions

The United Nations:

Financing the United Nations - Congress must vote on appropriations for U.S. contributions to the various programs and agencies of the UN.

UN Peacekeeping Force - The United States must decide whether to make the peacekeeping function of the UN a reality by making specific the commitments of the United States to support, finance, and utilize the peacekeeping function of the United Nations.

UN Relief Programs - The U.S. may be called on for support of relief aid programs, such as those refugees and displaced persons, administered under UN auspices.

Membership and Seating Questions - The U.S. will vote on membership and seating questions in the General Assembly.

Jurisdiction of the World Court: Congress will have the opportunity through debate to raise the question of whether the Connally Reservation should be continued; this amendment limits the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in disputes involving multilateral

treaties to those which the U.S. judges proper for the Court to rule on.

Furthering Growth of International Law: The U.S. can decide whether to encourage advances and strengthening of international law through promoting legal assistance and training in international jurisprudence and by supporting further codification of international law in areas such as space and the oceans.

Educational Cultural Exchange: Congress must decide whether to appropriate funds for the International Education Assistance Act, which would promote educational and cultural exchange between U.S. citizens and those of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Aid, Trade and Development

U.S. Economic Aid: Congress must decide whether to vote appropriations as requested by the Administration for economic aid to developing countries through both:

- *bilateral aid programs* such as
  the Agency for International Development and
  the Peace Corps branch of ACTION
- *multilateral aid programs* which commit the U.S. to long term development loans channeled through international agencies such as:
  the International Development Association,
  the World Bank, and
  the UN Development Organization

War on Hunger and Food for Freedom: Congress will vote on recipient countries and commodity amounts both through the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and through the U.S. Food for Freedom (formerly Food for Peace) program under Public Law 480. It may also consider a recent proposal aimed at closing the loophole in the U.S. Food for Freedom program that allowed military aid and arms shipments to be paid for from funds set aside to overcome hunger.

Population: Congress must consider whether to support measures to aid developing nations in dealing with population problems; whether to offer food grants to needy states in time of famine and/or commodity sales or technical assistance to help countries to meet their nutritional needs and to exercise control of population growth.

Trade: Congress can help determine whether U.S. markets will be reopened for more imports from the developing nations.

Relations with Communist Nations

Relations with the People's Republic of China: The U.S. will face a decision regarding further moves "opening the door" to an eventual "reconciliation" with Communist China.

National Policy

Relations with Cuba: Congress must decide whether to continue the provisos included in foreign aid legislation which prohibit U.S. aid to Cuba even through multilateral agencies and which threaten cancellation of U.S. aid to any country that trades with Cuba.

East-West Trade: Congress can decide whether to repeal present restrictions on the shipment of commodities to certain Communist nations.

Travel Bans to Communist Countries: The U.S. must determine whether it will further recent liberalizations in lifting travel prohibitions to selected Communist nations.

Multi-Lateral Security Measures: The U.S. can decide whether to encourage and explore negotiations among Communist and non-Communist nations for purposes of multi-lateral security; present and past proposals include disengagement plans in Europe, a non-aggression pact between the member nations of the NATO and Warsaw Pacts, etc.

Future of the Divided Nations: The U.S. may have to choose either proposals for the reunification of presently divided states -- China, Germany, Vietnam, Korea, -- or to explore possibilities of establishing relationships (diplomatic, trade, cultural) with the Communist governments of the People's Republic of China, North Korea, North Vietnam and East Germany.

Crisis Areas and International Relations

The War in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos: The U.S. will have to decide whether to seriously seek a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Indochina with all parties concerned or whether to pursue a policy of continued war. Congress will be faced with decisions of additional military appropriations to pay for the war. It must also consider resolutions calling for a deadline for withdrawal of all U.S. troops and proposals for an immediate cease-fire by all sides.

Other Southeast Asian Trouble Spots: The U.S. must decide what its commitments in this part of the world entail and how we will exercise our responsibilities here -- through economic aid and technical assistance, through security and development guarantees, or through military intervention.

Israeli/Arab Tensions: The U.S. must decide how it can best help to maintain the uneasy peace in the Near East.

Indo/Pakistani Frictions: The U.S. must decide whether it will try to play a moderating role in her relationships with these countries and whether arms sales to either nation may increase tensions and move one or the other to resume hostilities.

Relations with Bangladesh - The U.S. must decide on the amount and nature of aid to be given to the people of this war-torn nation, who are increasingly faced with disease, starvation, and destitution.

The Policy-Making Process

Curbs on Executive War-Making Ease: Congress will consider legislation designed to reassert its constitutional role in getting the nation into and out of war. Such legislation might include:

- a bill stating that the Prssident could undertake emergency military actions, such as repelling an attack on U.S. forces, but could not continue military hostilities for more than a month without obtaining Congressional consent.

- the advice of the Senate that the U.S. should agree in the Paris negotiations to total troop withdrawal from Indochina in four months if agreement was reached on timely release of American prisoners of war.

Secrecy and "Executive Privilege": Several proposals will be introduced into Congress to clarify the right of Congress to be sufficiently well informed to carry out its legislative duties.

- There will be bills designed to facilitate the availability of secret documents of the Executive Branch to those Congressional committees which help formulate laws that govern foreign policy. These documents would presumably contain information on military assistance programs, the CIA budget, military procurement, and the funding of the secret war in Laos.

Updated from the "1967-68 War/Peace Issues List" prepared by the World Without War Council of the U.S.

National Policy

He who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes or decisions possible or impossible to execute.
Abraham Lincoln

Working in the Community: Opinion Leaders: A Special Group

In our work in the local community we have found that there is a core of key people who deserve special attention from the peace worker: the opinion leaders. Following are some questions to consider when thinking about how to work with these individuals.

Who are opinion leaders?

Opinion leaders are people who are influential among various constituencies in the community because of the position they hold and/or because of the respect commanded by their public conduct. Opinion leaders include traditionally recognized public figures such as the local newspaper editor, the librarian, educational leaders, politicians, officers of local organizations, and clergymen. Other opinion leaders are people who can be influential in informal ways, e.g. a local businessman who has frequent contact with large numbers of the community, an old line family associated with the community's history, people who have retired from prominent positions but who, because of their reputation and experience, influence their successors.

When working for peace at the local level why give special consideration to opinion leaders?

When key people who are respected and known in a community make favorable statements or take action regarding a particular activity or point of view the impact on local citizens can be considerable. For example, if several clergymen sponsor a public forum on Vietnam, a broad spectrum of the community is more likely to respond than if the activity were endorsed by known peace activists.

What are our objectives in working with opinion leaders?

Our objectives with each individual will vary according to his level of involvement. With people who are neutral or indifferent to war/peace concerns we would like to stimulate interest by informing and educating them on the issues and our point of view. We would like to move people who are already sympathetic to our point of view to take action in an effort to influence their constituencies. People who are hostile to our efforts are those we should attempt to neutralize so that they can be more open to considering differing positions. To reach opinion leaders various kinds of education and action programs should be devised to suit the needs and concerns of the individual.

How do we become acquainted with the needs and interests of opinion leaders?

Personal interviews are the best way to learn about the interest and involvement of various opinion leaders (see AFSC Profile Kit). However, much can be learned by looking at the public statements or actions which leaders make. Also, peace workers can take it on themselves to write letters to opinion leaders to poll their interest in a variety of issues.

How do local peace activists deal with problems that might be caused by their own image?

Peace activists have to be sensitive to the image they have in their community. This image may make it difficult to reach some opinion leaders. For this reason indirect contact is often a more useful way to relate to some opinion leaders. For example, if a peace group wants to have all the clergymen in the community sponsor a public activity, it would be easier for a sympathetic minister to elicit the interest of his colleagues than it would be for a representative of the peace group to approach each clergyman individually.

Some project ideas for working to reach opinion leaders:

-Film Preview for Program Chairmen:

Personal invitations could be sent to program chairmen of local organizations to preview a series of films relating to war and peace. This kind of activity can make the peace group a legitimate source for materials and information for community groups.

-Mailings to Key People

Opinion leaders can be placed on mailing lists to receive interesting and pertinent articles in the area of their concern (see information centers). A personal note asking for their comments and criticisms will further their involvement and will increase their ability to influence others.

-Personal Invitations to Key People

Peace people or sympathetic opinion leaders can write letters inviting important individuals to local or regional activities.

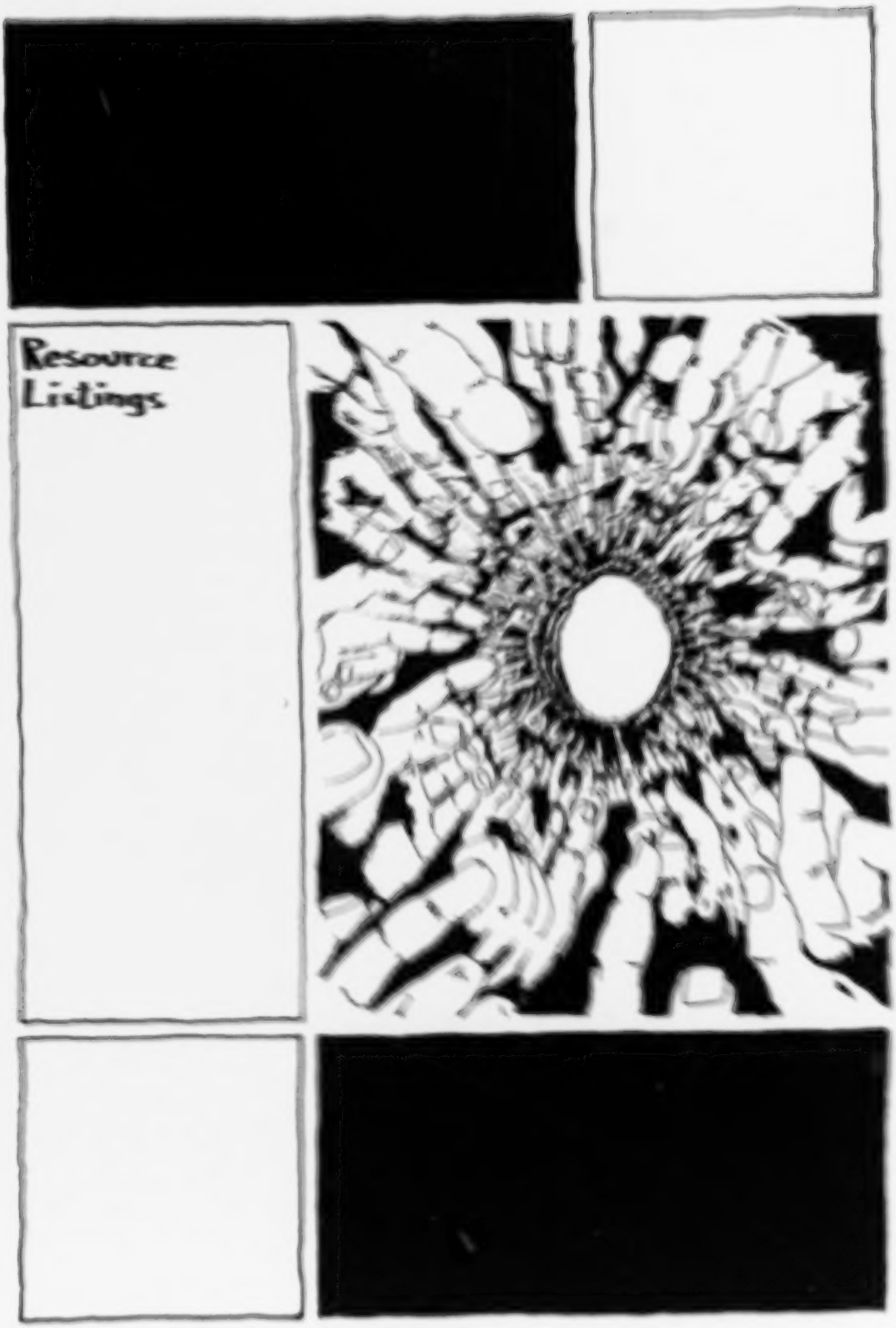
-An Education Program sponsored by opinion leaders.

Sympathetic leaders can be asked to endorse, if not organize, either a public forum for the community or a private briefing or dialogue for other opinion leaders.

"Opinion Leaders: A Special Group" was written by the staff of AFSC's New York Metropolitan Regional Office. Write to them for the Profile Kit (see p. 242).

An additional resource:

Influencing Influentials for Peace. This short, but fascinating study of influencing local opinion leaders in Denver, Colorado, is available from SANE, 318 Massachussetts Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C.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*The film and literature lists reproduced in this section are from the AFSC Middle Atlantic Regional Office (MAR). They are meant to be a sample of one AFSC region's resources. Check with the AFSC regional office nearest to you (see page 142) for listings of resources in your area.

Listings

Films on General War/Peace Issues

Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August 1945 B & W, 16 mins. $5.00
Made from recently-released Japanese footage of the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this film provides a sobering view of the effects of nuclear weapons. A good opener for discussions of nuclear weapons, ABM, the arms race, or war in general.

The Language of Faces B & W, 17 mins. $5.00
Portrays the balance of terror in American life--children singing during H-bomb drills, businessmen inspecting civil defense shelters, people watching military parades and weapons displays. Ending stresses the renunciation of violence with scenes from a Quaker peace vigil.

The Magician B & W, 13 mins. $5.00
A Polish film about a magician who entices a group of playing children into his shooting gallery with magic tricks and teaches them to shoot, first at impersonal targets and then at dolls. They are then led over the hill to war and their end. A dramatic view of military indoctrination. Not for children.

Neighbors Color, 9 mins. $5.00
Two neighbors come to blows over a flower, ultimately destroying their homes, the flower, and themselves. Good symbolic opener into society's basic problems of war, violence, inter-personal relations, "security" and "property."

A Plague on Your Children B & W, 80 mins. $7.50
The film focusses on Porton, the main Chemical and Biological Warfare research center in England. With a restrained anger, it depicts production techniques and animal experimentation which reveals the effects of these weapons. Several research scientists are interviewed in an attempt to reveal how they can reconcile their work with their consciences.

You Don't Have to Buy War, Mrs. Smith! B & W, 30 mins. $15.00
Bess Myerson Grant, New York City Commissioner of Consumer Affairs, explodes the Pentagon myth of our "national security," revealing the bombs and botulism the military has stored in backyards all over America. She names many familiar manufacturers of household goods as makers of these Pentagon products. A very effective film for almost any audience. Rentals go for purchase of new films.

Films, Slides, Tape on Vietnam

David Schoenbrun: Vietnam, How We Got In, How to Get Out $5.00
B & W, 33 mins. The journalist-historian is shown speaking about the history of Vietnam, the origins of the war, why we should get out, and how. Highly persuasive in its authority and objectivity.

Once Upon A War B & W, 30 mins. Donation
By Patricia Penn. Describes the work of AFSC's Quaker Rehabilitation ter in Quang Ngai, South Vietnam, which supplies artificial limbs and physical therapy to civilian amputees and trains Vietnamese in prosthetics and physical therapy. Documents the magnitude of the civilian war casualties problem. Not an easy film to watch, should be previewed beforehand. No rental fee charged, but we encourage contributions in appreciation of the film, either to the film service or for the Quaker Rehabilitation Center.

Time of the Locust B & W, 11 mins. $5.00
A film produced partly by AFSC showing the tragedy and brutality of the War in Vietnam. Compiled from U.S., Japanese, and N.L.F. sources. A powerful film.

Why Vietnam? B & W, 25 mins. $5.00
A State Department film from the Johnson Administration explaining the U.S. presence in Vietnam. Excellent for teaching about propadanda techniques. Makes a very effective "two-sided" program when used with *David Schoenbrun: Vietnam.*

The Third Vietnam Color slides, magnetic tape, 40 mins. $1.00
Slides and commentary by an AFSC worker in Vietnam. Attempts to present a feeling for the Vietnamese culture and people and describes what the war is doing to Vietnam.

Remember Vietnam Color filmstrip, 33 1/3 record, 23 mins. $1.00
(Has leader's guide) Based on their experiences in Vietnam, two International Voluntary Service members describe Vietnamese life and the suffering that the war is causing and raise penetrating questions about U.S. policy. May be purchased for $5.00 from Service Dept, UMC, 100 Maryland Ave., Wahhington, D.C. 20002.

Winter Soldier Investigation Magnetic tape, 75 mins. $1.00
At this investigation, sponsored by Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Detroit, Feb., 1971, about 100 Vietnam veterans testified about their experiences in Vietnam. This tape includes excerpts concerning unannounced incursions across borders, battlefield atrocities, troop training and attitudes, and reporting on the war, civilian and military. NOTE: A film of testimony excerpts is available for rental or purchase from Winterfilm, 405 East 13th St., New York, N.Y. 10009.

Films on the Draft

Anti-Draft in Boston #1: Resist and New England Resistance $5.00
A NEWSREEL documentary with scenes from the Resist national office, a New England Resistance dinner and various demonstrations and draft card burnings. A good account of what resistance is all about. B & W, 10 mins.

Anti-Draft in Boston #2: Boston Draft Resistance Group $5.00
A NEWSREEL documentary on the Boston Draft Resistance Group. Shows the process of setting up draft counseling, going door-to-door talking about the draft, and talking to men at draft physicals. B & W, 16 mins.

For Ages 10 to Adult B & W, 16 mins. $5.00
Follows young men through the process of induction, juxtaposing this with scenes of small boys playing with toy guns. Makes no direct protest against the draft; its strength lies in the stark portrayal of the realities of the situation. Makes a good draft repeal program when used with *The Magician.*

Who Owns Tony Fargus? B & W, 10 mins. $5.00
About a black youth having a personal appearance before his all-white draft board about his conscientious objector claim. Useful to stimulate discussion about taking the CO position and about some of the inequities of the draft.

Listings

Films on Education and Community Relations

No Reason to Stay B & W, 29 mins. $5.00
Presents an intelligent middle class dropout's view of the education he is dropping out from. In a time of widespread high school revolt, *No Reason to Stay* is a dramatic and valuable presentation of the experiences and feelings that lead high school students to reject the school system.

The Price of Freedom: A Documentary on Bail B & W, 23 mins. $10.00
Examines the origins and rationale of the bail system and looks specifically at the system in Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa., revealing the costs, both monetary and human, that are imposed on the defendant. NOTE: This film is available only through the AFSC Pre-Trial Justice Program, 1300 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. (412) 232-3053. Rental fee is flexible.

Voices Inside Color, 20 mins. $5.00
In this film the prison experience is described and evaluated by the inmates who suffer from it. Inmates are interviewed in the settings of their prisons. Dr. Karl Menninger is also shown. The film probes beyond shocking physical conditions to question whether the prison experience does any good for the prisoner or for society. This film must be ordered well in advance, as it is shared with other AFSC offices.

Rental Procedure from AFSC - MAR, Baltimore, Maryland

Films should generally be reserved by mail or phone at least one month in advance in order to avoid scheduling conflicts. Please include an alternate date and your phone number when writing and enclose the listed rental fee. The rental fees are minimal and cover postage, handling, cleaning, and maintenance. You can generally cover the cost by publicizing the film well and by taking a collection at the showing. Twenty people contributing 25¢ covers a $5.00 rental. The rental for two films, each shorter than 25 minutes, is $7.50. Arrangements can be made for groups that are unable to pay a rental fee. The renter is responsible for any excessive damage to the film. Films must be returned the day after use by SPECIAL DELIVERY mail or by bus express and must be insured. You pay the return postage.

Some Other Sources of Films

AMERICAN DOCUMENTARY FILMS, 336 West 84th Street, New York, N.Y. (212) 799-7440

ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY, Films Department (Baltimore City and County only) (301) 685-6700.

MASS MEDIA MINISTRIES, 2116 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md. (301) 727-3270.

SANE, Greater Philadelphia Office, 20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (215) 567-0796

Church denominational headquarters frequently have films available to local congregations.

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES MOVE FOR VIETNAM PEACE, c/o Henry Niles, 901 N. Howard Street, Baltimore, Md. (301) 837-5600. Films available--

David Schoenbrun on Vietnam; George Wald; Short Term Prosperity/Long Term Disaster; Eight Flags for 99¢ (excellent interviews on the war from a Chicago working class neighborhood -- shows a section of Middle America that isn't happy with Vietnam). Rental fees depend on the affluence of the renter.

The War/Peace Film Guide, by Lucy Dougall. This is the most comprehensive list of films on war/peace issues that we have seen. Each film is described and evaluated, and sources are listed. Also includes guides for planning a film program. Published by World Without War Council. Available from AFSC. 75¢

Trial By Fire*

A much-decorated combat pilot is ordered to bomb a village in which a small number of Chinese Communist guerillas are hiding. On a previous mission, he had been shot down. Parachuting to safety, he saw at close range the horror his bombs had brought to innocent civilians. He now refuses to fly the mission, saying it is immoral. He will not attack targets that are primarily civilian. As a result, he faces certain courtmartial and possibly death. His commanding officer respects him and tries to get him to change his mind. His lawyer, a military psychiatrist and his wife do the same, citing the need for obedience to legitimate authority and the necessity of stopping the Communists. He wavers. Should he follow his conscience? Or should he do as he is told?

CAST: Bradford Dillman, Ricardo Montalban, Pippa Scott.
Jr. High, Sr. High/Adult. 27 1/2 mins. B&W: $135 Color: $270

THEME: A just war cannot be fought by unjust means. Every man has the responsibility to form and obey his own conscience.

Five Without Faces*

A searing, moral indictment of contemporary war. An American combat team devastates a village in a free fire zone of Vietnam. They feel guilt for what they have done and fear they might be prosecuted because of the civilians who died in the operation. To reassure themselves they shift the responsibility to their commanding general. He, in turn, rationalizes his position blaming the government and ultimately the people of the world for the insanity of war. The five soon realize that they are being used as bait to draw the enemy out of the surrounding jungle. They will become mere casualties in a successful military operation and a sticky "atrocity" investigation will be neatly avoided.

CAST: Carl Betz, Tom Nardini, Michael Brandon.
Jr. High/Sr. High/Adult. 26 1/2 mins. B&W: $135.

THEME: War is absurd, offensive to God, destructive of man.

*These two films are available from:
INSIGHT FILMS
P.O. Box 1057
Pacific Palisades, California

AFSC-MAR Literature List

Non-Violence and Social Change

The Power of Nonviolence, by Richard B. Gregg. Basic book on nonviolent resistance asserting man is capable of evolving techniques for powerful mass nonviolence. A classic in the field. $1.25

The New Testament Basis of Pacifism, by G.H.C. McGregor. Stresses "non-retaliation" as the authentic New Testament note, rather than "non-resistance." $1.25

Gandhi: His Relevance for Our Times, G. Ramachandran and T.K. Mahadevan. An anthology of over thirty essays assessing Gandhi's contribution to problems posed by violence, social change, and world peace. Written by internationally famed scholars. $2.95

Christian Pacifism in History, by Geoffrey Nuttall, a British theologian, An unsettling book. Clearly portrays different sources of Christian pacifism in five areas. Provocative for pacifists and non-pacifists alike. $1.25

Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Reevaluation, by Roland Bainton. A classic over-view of Christian thinking, especially "just war" and "pacifist" traditions. $2.25

Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict, by Joan V. Bondurant. An excellent exposition of Gandhi's philosophy and techniques, using concrete examples. $1.95

Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Non-Violence, by Erik H. Erikson. One of the most widely acclaimed recent books on Gandhi. $2.95

Strategy for Nonviolent Revolution, by George Lakey. A tentative strategy for achieving massive social change with nonviolent means, by a veteran of many nonviolent actions. $ .25

Speak Truth to Power. A Quaker search for an alternative to violence. A study of international conflict, showing how it is possible and why it is reasonable to give practical expression of the pacifist position in the great conflict that now divides the world. An AFSC working party paper. Over 100,000 copies in print. 1955. 72 pp. $ .35

The Pacifist Conscience, ed. by Peter Mayer. A fascinating and valuable anthology of pacifist writings from Lao-Tzu to comtemporary activists $2.65

Nonviolent Action: How It Works, by George Lakey. An excellent brief introduction to what nonviolence means. $ .70

Training for Nonviolent Action for High School Students: A Handbook, prepared for the Friends Peace Committee by Bidge McKay. A useful introduction in "workbook" format, well-suited for its intended audience. $1.00

Ain't Gonna Pay for War No More, by Bob Calvert of National War Tax Resistance. Comprehensive, up-to-date and interesting review of all literature on subject. A lot of book for $1. 128 pp. $1.00

Handbook on Non-Payment of War Taxes, 1971 edition, 50 pp. $ .65

For a New Way of Seeing Things

Kill for Peace, by Richard Mc Sorley, S. J. Straight-forward account of our present path toward destruction and proposals for building a new path. $1.00

The Meaning of the 20th Century: the Great Transition, by Kenneth Boulding. Exciting and mind-expanding approach to the present by learning to accept and understand man's potential in the future. $1.45

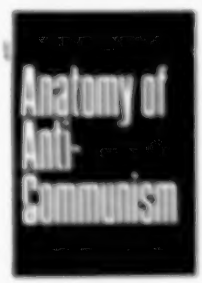
The Lopsided World, by Barbara Ward. The prominent authority on economic development describes the dangerous and increasing gap between rich and poor nations and discusses roads to development. $1.25

An Alternative Future for America II, by Robert Theobald. An exciting new view of the future. "We must all dare to do the impossible. All current initiatives within the realm of the possible appear to be failing." $2.00

Working Loose, New Vocations Project of AFSC in San Francisco. Forgetting about money, what would you like to do more than anything else? Sections: Wanting to Change, Getting Support, Creating Alternatives, Resources. 143 pp. $1.95

Toward A Democratic Left, Michael Harrington's view of our present predicament at home and abroad and a prescription for a new political realignment. $1.95

American Foreign Policy



Anatomy of Anti-Communism, by AFSC. Studies the nature, origins and effects of an ideology which has influenced both our foreign policy and our domestic life. $1.50

American Empire: The Political Ethics of Twentieth Century Conquest, by John M. Swomley, Jr. Behind the myths about foreign policy from Pearl Harbor to Vietnam lies the use of U.S. military and economic power to gain world dominance. $1.95

The Age of Imperialism: The Economics of U.S. Foreign Policy, by Harry Magdoff. Argues that U.S. foreign policy is designed to protect foreign investments, markets and raw material sources and to keep the third world under-developed. $1.95

American Power in the Twentieth Century, by Michael Harrington. Emphasizes the danger of the lopsided world but argues that U.S. prosperity does not depend on exploitation of poor nations. Calls for a new world economy. $ .50

Intervention and Revolution, by Richard J. Barnet. One of the most important studies of America's interventions in third world revolutions. Provides a context for understanding the Indochina war. Reduced price $3.00

The Military Industrial Complex

The War Business: The International Trade in Armaments, by George Thayer. Examines how and why the post-World War II international arms trade works and extent to which it encourages the outbreak or continuation of hostilities. $1.25

Listings

Mirv: Documented, readable analyses of the Anti-Ballistic Missile system and the Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicle. Do they give us security or do they increase the threat of war? $ .25

Alternatives to the Military-Industrial Complex: A packet of articles on how the M.I.C. works, how much it costs, how it affects the economy and the society, alternative defense budgets, and conversion to civilian production. $ .35

The New American Militarism: by General David M. Shoup. One of the most important descriptions of the nature and threat of the new American militarism, by a former Marine Commandant. $ .10

The Pentagon Watchers: Students Report on the National Security State: ed. by Leonard S. Rodberg and Derek Shearer. One of the best current general books on the warfare state, how it grew, how it operates, its costs and dangers. $1.95

Our Depleted Society:
both by Seymour Melman
Pentagon Capitalism: These are probably the definitive books on how military spending has depleted our society economically and socially and on the changes in the nature of our economic system caused by the growth of the military-industrial state management. $2.95

Pentagonism: A Substitute for Imperialism: by Juan Bosch. The former Dominican Republic President argues that U.S. capitalism has over-developed so that it needs interventionism to maintain the profits of its war industry. $1.25

Weapons for Counterinsurgency: NARMIC, AFSC research project on Military-Industrial Complex showing the CBW, Incendiary, and anti-personnel weapons used for counterinsurgency. $1.00

The Future of the Strategic Arms Race: Options for the 1970's, George Rathjens. A scientific look at alternative defense policies. $ .60

Community Relations

Man and the Economy, special working party study by the AFSC Community Relations Division: "This document recognizes that man must reverse the present order of things and bring about a system where human values... are paramount and in which the economic system fosters this end," Cesar Chavez, United Farm Workers. AFSC 1970. $ .75

Police Power, Paul Chevigny. A case by case study of police actions in New York City. Reputed to be one of the best books yet on the subject. $1.95

Police on the Homefront, by AFSC's NARMIC: A collection of essays on the use of technology, much of it tested in Vietnam, being used by police to control people on the "homefront." $1.35

The State of the Cities: Report of the Commission on the Cities in the 70's. National Urban Coalition. Look at major cities in light of the Kerner report. $1.95

An Analysis of American Racism, by Frank Joyce. A very useful document for understanding and combatting white racism. $ .10

The Autobiography of Malcolm X: A powerful description of a great Black leader and of what it means to be Black in America. $1.25

The National Urban Coalition Counterbudget: A Blueprint for Changing National Priorities 1971-1976, ed. by Robert S. Benson and Harold Wolman. A comprehensive plan for dealing with America's domestic problems and cutting defense spending. $2.95

The Problem of Prisons, by David F. Greenberg: Argues that prisons neither prevent crime nor rehabilitate prisoners. Suggests long-term and immediate changes. $ .75

The Ill-Housed, by Urban America for the League of Women Voters. The problem, the causes, the remedies at hand and the need for an emphasis on people. $1.25

Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area, by Harry M. Caudill. A definitive biography of modern Appalachia, particularly the coal mining regions of W. Va. and Ky. $2.45

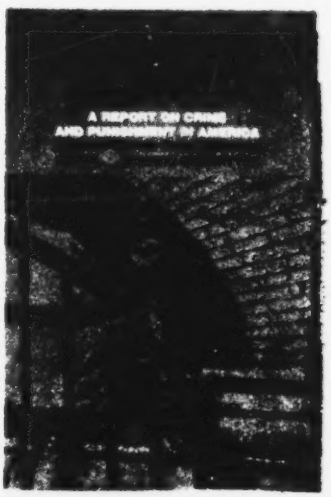
The Other America: Poverty in the U.S.A., by Michael Harrington. A new introduction updates this classic on poverty in America. $ .95

The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto, by William K. Tabb. Why the mass of Black Americans has been forced to accept economic deprivation in an age of prosperity. $1.75

Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians, prepared for AFSC. For the Indians of Puget Sound, this is a battle for their livelihood. Contrasts the Indian and white attitudes toward the natural world. $2.50

Who shall Live? Man's Control Over Birth and Death, by AFSC. Examines the question in the light of the problems of overpopulation, the quality of life, and individual fulfillment. $1.75

Struggle for Justice: A special AFSC working party report just published by Hill and Wang. Paperback. $1.95



This is a most timely and thoughtful probing of the state of criminal justice and penal institutions in our country, prepared by a 17-member working party, several of whom have served time in jail themselves. It demolishes the myths of 'treatment' and 'rehabilitation' as well as the concept of 'preventive detention' and shows how too much discretionary power has corrupted the system in the hands of judges and parole officers. Admitting no easy solutions to the mammoth problems, the book does suggest some viable new approaches.
Publishers' Weekly

Indochina - The War Continues

Washington Plans an Aggressive War: A Documented Account of the U.S. Adventure in Indochina, by Ralph Stavin, Richard Barnet, and Marcus Raskin. Draws on sources including the Pentagon Papers which have not been available until recently. Devastating analysis of JFK's "covert" war and growth of the Executive's war-making capacity. $1.95

Listings

The Automated Air War Packet, contains 10 key reprints necessary for a comprehensive overview of the "Electronic Battlefield" in theory and in practice over Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Excellent with the "Automated Air War" slide show listed under "Films". $1.50

The Indochina Story, by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. Covers history of the conflict from struggles with Chinese, Japanese, French and now Americans. $1.25

Indochina 1971. An AFSC Paper on requirements for peace in Southeast Asia. Outlines the effects of the war on Indochina and on America, the failure of Vietnamization, and proposals for peace. $ .35

Indochina Packet. A collection of significant articles on various aspects of the war: peace proposals, Vietnamization, offshore oil, etc. $ .30

Prisoners in Vietnam. Articles on the government POW campaign, the treatment of POW's in North and South Vietnam, and on political repression in South Vietnam. $ .20

Vietnam and the Silent Majority: The Dove's Guide, by Milton Rosenberg, Sidney Verba, & Philip Converse. Analyzes opinion polls on Vietnam, effective methods of changing opinions, and concrete suggestions on how to work with Middle America. $1.25

The Destruction of Indochina: A Legacy of our Presence, by the Stanford Biology Study Group. Focusses on effects of warfare on ecological damage and prospects for survivors for generations. $ .25

The Middle East

Search for Peace in the Middle East, by AFSC. Attempts to outline the necessary conditions for and steps toward peace, based on belief that the rights and interests of neither party can be preserved without recognition of the rights of the other. $ .75

Israel and the Arabs, by Maxime Rodinson. A distinguished French Middle East scholar and Marxist traces the course of Zionism and examines the changing ambitions and interrelations of the Arab nations. $1.25

The Art of the Possible: Diplomatic Alternatives in the Middle East, by Michael Reisman. An up-to-date account of attempts to solve the Middle East crisis and a presentation of the alternatives now open. $1.95

To Make War or Make Peace in the Middle East. Selections from an International Symposium held in Israel in 1969. Important in presenting a range of non-establishment Israeli views. $ .45

Latin America

Cuba Ten Years After: A Quaker Visit to the Revolution, by an AFSC team. First hand report on the problems and successes of the alternative society which Cuba is struggling to create. $ .75

The Great Fear in Latin America, by John Gerassi. Dramatic, documented look at U.S. economic and military influence from the point of view of Latin Americans. $1.50

Pakistan/Bangla Desh

Crisis in Pakistan: A Community Peace Action Resource Kit prepared by the N.Y. office of AFSC providing valuable and timeless background to the recent war there. Also discussion of the problem of nonviolence and difficulty of giving non-partial relief during war time. $ .15

China

U.S. China Policy: A Fresh Start. A statement of the Board of Directors of AFSC calling for recognition of the People's Republic and major change in U.S. policy. 1971. $ .50

Red China Today, by Edgar Snow. Reputed to be one of the most informative books on Communist China published in the English language. Revised and updated edition. 750 pages covering nearly every aspect of modern China. $3.45

China: The Convulsive Society, by Michael Oksenberg. Examines the Cultural Revolution in the context of China's history and beliefs and its implications for U.S. policy. $1.00

Alternatives to War

In Place of War. A provocative inquiry into nonviolent national defense by an AFSC working party. Contains a scenario in which the United States transarms to nonviolent defense plus consideration of how such defense might be organized and might function, based on historical examples. Argues that the U.S. could meet its real defense needs without military means. $1.95

Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives, by Gene Sharp. Explores nonviolence as a tool both for social change and national defense. $2.25

The Quiet Battle, ed. with an introduction by Mulford Sibley. Essays and important historical works on the theory and practice of nonviolent resistance. Examples described include ancient Rome, South Africa, India, Norway, Alabama. $2.95

The Power to Keep Peace, Today and in a World Without War, by Lincoln Bloomfield, the foremost American authority on international peacekeeping. Constructs realistic, next-step proposals in a field that has too often lacked such concreteness. $2.95

The United Nations in the 1970's: A Strategy for a Unique Era in the Affairs of Nations. A report by the National Policy Panel of the UNUSA. $1.00

Revolution and Violence

Revolution and Violence, by Mulford Q. Sibley. "All violence tends to be 'reactionary,' whatever the avowed objectives of those who employ it." $ .20

Neither Victims nor Executioners, by Albert Camus. A call for a true anti-war movement that promotes the revolution of freedom and justice without legitimizing mass murder. $ .25

Listings

Gandhi and Marx, by K. G. Mashruwala. An exploration of the important differences of the "two Masters" who shared a deep concern for the oppressed. $ .60

Revolutionary Nonviolence. Essays by nonviolent activist David Dellinger from World War II through the Chicago conspiracy trial. From *Liberation* magazine. $2.50

The Wretched of the Earth, by Franz Fanon. A psychological argument that violence in the ex-colonial countries is necessary to the achievement of true dignity and self-hood. $1.25

Revolution: Violent and Nonviolent. A reprint from *Liberation* magazine. Regis Debray's court statement and Barbara Deming's "On Revolution and Equilibrium," the latter being a perceptive, moving response to Fanon's powerful book. $ .35

Draft and Military

The Right to Refuse to Kill. International Peace Bureau, 1971. Arguments supporting U.N. recognition of conscientious objection as a human right. 35 pp. $ .60

Conscience and Command. Justice and Discipline in the Military. Ed. by James Finn. One of the must books for anyone counseling or organizing G.I.'s. 254 pp. $1.95

Guide to the Draft, by Arlo Tatum and Joseph Tuchinsky, 3rd ed. (1970) The complete guide to the Draft system. $2.45

Face to Face with Your Draft Board: A Guide to Personal Appearances, by Allan Blackman. Useful both for draft counselors and for men facing personal appearances. $ .95

Handbook for Conscientious Objectors: Current edition of CCCO's basic and indispensible handbook. $1.50

Advice for CO's in the Armed Forces, by CCCO. (1970) A counterpart to the Handbook, for GI's seeking CO discharges $1.00

GI Rights and Army Justice: The Draftee's Guide to Military Life and Law, by Robert S. Rivkin. For the GI, full information about his rights; for the potential draftee, information about the kind of life he may be forced to lead. $1.75

Blessed Are the Peacemakers, ed. by Allan and Linda Kirschner. A comprehensive, exciting anthology of the voices of peace, from Isaiah to Gandhi and Bob Dylan. Very helpful in thinking about conscientious objection. $ .95

The Resistance, by Michael Ferber and Staughton Lynd. A new book presenting an inside story of the draft resistance movement and its influence toward ending the war and maintaining freedom at home. $2.95

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